

MEDIEVAL WELSH PERCEPTIONS
OF THE ORIENT

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MEDIEVAL WELSH PERCEPTIONS OF THE ORIENT

by

Natalia I. Petrovskaia



BREPOLS

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ABBREVIATIONS

BL	British Library
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
<i>ByS</i>	<i>Brenhinedd y Saesson or The Kings of the Saxons: BM Cotton MS. Cleopatra B v and The Black Book of Basingwerk NLW MS. 7006</i> , ed. and trans. by Thomas Jones, History and Law Series, 25 (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1971)
<i>ByT: Pen. 20</i>	<i>Brut y Tywysogyon: Peniarth MS. 20</i> , ed. by Thomas Jones, History and Law Series, 6 (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1941)
<i>ByT: Pen. 20 tr.</i>	<i>Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes: Peniarth MS. 20 Version</i> , trans. by Thomas Jones, History and Law Series, 11 (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1952)
<i>ByT: RB</i>	<i>Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes: Red Book of Hergest Version</i> , ed. and trans. by Thomas Jones, History and Law Series, 16 (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1955)
CCCC	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
CUL	Cambridge University Library
MWM	Huws, Daniel, <i>Medieval Welsh Manuscripts</i> (Cardiff and Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales and University of Wales Press, 2000)
NLI	National Library of Ireland

NLW	National Library of Wales
RB	Red Book of Hergest
RB-A	<i>Delw y Byd</i> fragment in the Red Book of Hergest, cols 975–98
RB-B	<i>Delw y Byd</i> fragment in the Red Book of Hergest, cols 502–16
<i>TYP</i> ²	<i>Trioedd Ynys Prydein</i> , ed. and trans. by Rachel Bromwich, 2nd edn (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1978)
WB	White Book of Rhydderch

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First and foremost I must express my deep-felt gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Paul Russell, who has been my guide in the field of academic enquiry since the very beginning. To my examiners, Professor Erich Poppe and Dr Fiona Edmonds, I owe a deep debt of gratitude for their comments, for making me think about my arguments in new ways, for their advice, their encouragement, and their support. I also wish to thank my advisor, Dr Elizabeth Ashman-Rowe, for always being there with helpful counsel and guidance on both the dissertation itself and matters surrounding it. Deep felt thanks go also to my tutor, Dr Philip Pattenden, for his support and encouragement through the many years I have been at Peterhouse. I am very grateful to Dr Oliver Padel and Professor Toshiyuki Takamiya for their invaluable advice and comments on the early drafts of my dissertation and on the articles which have arisen from it. Mr Daniel Huws, Dr Tessa Webber, Professor Thomas Charles-Edwards, Professor Bill Burgwinkle, Dr Fiona Edmonds, Dr Magnus Ryan, and Dr Berthold Kress have all kindly commented on the various stages and products of this research, and their advice has been invaluable. During my year at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes in France, I have benefited from the guidance and advice of Professor Patrick Gautier Dalché and Professor Pierre-Yves Lambert.

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This book is dedicated to my parents, who are responsible for cultivating the intellectual curiosity which produced it.

COLOUR PLATES



Plate 1. 'The Exeter Map', Exeter, Cathedral Library MS 3514, p. 53, reproduced by kind permission of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral.





Plate 3 (above). ‘The Corpus Map’, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 66, p. 2 (detail),
by permission of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Plate 2 (opposite). ‘The Corpus Map’, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 66, p. 2,
by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.



Plate 4. Map of Britain and Ireland, Dublin,
National Library of Ireland MS 700, fol. 48^r, image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland.

FOREWORD

In her groundbreaking study, Natalia Petrovskaja surveys a hitherto unexplored area of cultural interaction beyond the traditional boundaries of Europe and the Mediterranean — between Wales and the Orient. She explores texts produced or transmitted in Wales, in the western margins of Europe, in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, which were written either in Latin or in Welsh, and the information they yield about contemporary perceptions of the Orient. Among the texts she analyzes are classics of medieval Welsh literature, such as the early prose narrative *Culhwch ac Olwen* (or *How Culhwch Won Olwen*) and poems about Alexander extant in the famous (fourteenth-century) manuscript *Book of Taliesin*, but also the Welsh adaptations of Old French and Latin texts about Charlemagne. The latter are transmitted in a cyclic format in both the *White Book of Rhydderch* and the *Red Book of Hergest* — huge manuscript collections of texts compiled in the mid-fourteenth century and soon after 1382 respectively, with the intention to bring together between their covers samples of culturally relevant texts. The inclusion of the stories about Charlemagne in these manuscripts testifies to their contemporary impact and importance; they have, however, been but little studied by modern scholars. Natalia Petrovskaja's examination in Chapter 3 is the first critical assessment of this group of texts. She identifies two main and intimately connected themes, which result from a conflictual encounter with the contemporary Orient and are firmly embedded in religious and crusading values, namely martyrdom through death in battle against non-believers and an emphasis on conversion to Christianity by force. The term 'contemporary Orient' refers to one element within the central theoretical concept that Natalia Petrovskaja develops in her book. This, I think, will prove to be a great methodological usefulness for studies of perceptions of the Orient in other medieval textual cultures as well. Her new interpretative framework establishes three chronologically and contextually different Orients: the 'historical Orient', the 'biblical

Orient', and the 'contemporary Orient'. The historical Orient is the Orient of the classical world, the place of origin of a historical progression of empire and scholarship from East to West, the Orient of Alexander the Great and of Troy. The biblical Orient is a timeless construct and the origin in the religious sense, represented by the biblical Holy Land as depicted on medieval *mappae mundi*. The contemporary Orient, finally, is the Orient taken over by non-Christian peoples, which, within this medieval worldview, requires Western Christian intervention in the form of the crusading endeavour.

In the first part of *Medieval Welsh Perceptions of the Orient*, Natalia Petrovskaja provides the necessary conceptual foundations for her analyses and reviews the evidence for Welsh religious and mercantile contacts with the Orient and for sources of information about the Orient, and of Spain under Muslim control, available in medieval Wales, as reflected in geographical texts, travel accounts, and the literary texts about Charlemagne. The second part of her study focuses on the way medieval Welsh perceptions of the Orient are re-worked in literary texts, either in the form of immediate geographical references to oriental locations, in order to evoke an imperial setting, or more indirectly in travels beyond the borders of Wales as described in *Peredur* and in *Owein* (or *Iarllles y Ffynawn*, *The Lady of the Fountain*), two narrative texts which are in complex ways related to, and dependent on, Chrétien's *Perceval* and *Yvain*, respectively. In *Culhwch ac Olwen*, for example, the gatekeeper of Arthur's court lists exotic locations in which he was once active together with Arthur, among them 'yr India Uawr a'r India Uechan' ('India the Great and India the Lesser'), and Natalia Petrovskaja attractively suggests to read this as an anachronistic signature of imperial aspirations for the figure of Arthur by the text's author.

Natalia Petrovskaja's insightful and thought-provoking study *Medieval Welsh Perceptions of the Orient* is a significant and timely contribution to the scholarly literature on medieval engagements with the Orient. It shows that Wales, even though it may appear to have been located at the western margins of Europe, actively participated in the great intellectual, cultural, and religious discussions of the Middle Ages, and it also suggests an original interpretative framework of wider applicability for the analysis of medieval perceptions of the Orient.

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ὑπολαμβάνομεν δ' ἄλλων ἄλλο τι κατορθωσάντων ἄλλο πολὺ μέρος ἔτι τοῦ ἔργου λείπεσθαι: πρὸς οἷς ἂν καὶ μικρὸν προσλαβεῖν δυνηθῶμεν, ἱκανὴν δεῖ τίθεσθαι πρόφασιν τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως.

‘Although various predecessors have done excellent work in various fields of geography, yet I assume that a large portion of the work still remains to be done; and if I shall be able to make even small additions to what they have said, that must be regarded as a sufficient excuse for my undertaking.’

Strabo, *Geography* 1.2.1



Map 1. Map of Wales and locations mentioned.

INTRODUCTION

Praeparatis igitur tanto itineri necessariis, ab orientali Asia ad extremos tendens Europae fines, in Angliam demum duplici navigio, extra communem videlicet orbem, angulum occidentalis oceani remotissimum non absque labore et periculo magno circa kalendas Februarii patriarcha pervenit.¹

Having prepared the things necessary for such a voyage, from oriental Asia aiming for the extreme ends of Europe, finally by a double voyage, to the most remote corner of the western ocean, namely beyond the common sphere, not without great struggle and peril, the Patriarch arrived in England around the kalends of February. (my translation)

This passage refers to the visit made by Eraclius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem (in office 1180–c. 1190), to England, in 1185, to request military aid for the Holy Land.² It encapsulates and draws together a number of themes relevant to the arguments put forward in the present book: crusading and crusade preaching, travel (of people and of ideas), and the marginality of Europe in general and Britain in particular (described as ‘angulus occidentalis oceani remotissimus’) in relation to the centrality of Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the medieval worldview. The sense of East-West dynamic it creates, in its tying of the issue of relative geographical positioning and distance to the subject of crusading is particularly important, a link that will become apparent in the course of the following discussion. The passage comes from *De principis*

¹ Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, II. xxiv, ed. by Warner, p. 203. The Patriarch appears to have arrived, therefore, in the last week of January, according to the modern calendar. The Patriarch left the Holy Land in June 1184, was in Verona in November, where he met the Pope, the Emperor, and an embassy from Henry II, then travelled to Paris in January where he offered the keys of Jerusalem to Philip Augustus, travelling on to England after the latter’s refusal to accept; Mayer, ‘Henry II of England and the Holy Land’, p. 731.

² For more on Eraclius, see Kedar, ‘The Patriarch Eraclius’.

instructione, composed by Gerald of Wales (c. 1146–1223) towards the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century. Born around 1146, Gerald of Wales, also known as Giraldus Cambrensis or Gerald de Barri, was of mixed Cambro-Norman ancestry, and whilst he cannot be taken as an example of a purely Welsh point of view, he represents a bridge between Welsh, Anglo-Norman, and (through his studies in Paris, for instance) Continental culture.³

It is Welsh culture, Welsh attitudes to the Orient, and in particular the evidence of their being influenced by the crusade phenomenon that provide the focal point of the present study.⁴ Whilst the examination of crusade participation of the major crusading states: England, Germany, and France, remains mainstream, in recent years Welsh participation and interest in crusades has also become an established topic of enquiry, thanks to the work of Peter Edbury, Huw Pryce, Kathryn Hurlock, and others.⁵ Sources such as saints' lives present pilgrimage to Jerusalem as a long-established tradition.⁶ Yet no existing study has evaluated the full extent of the influence exercised by the crusading phenomenon on medieval Welsh culture and literary tradition.⁷

³ For a discussion, see Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, pp. 9–19; for a discussion of Gerald's Cambro-Norman hybridity, see Cohen, 'Hybrids, Monsters, Borderlands'.

⁴ The choice of the ideologically-loaded term 'Orient' rather than 'East' in the title of this book is dictated by the consideration of clarity. Since 'East' can also be a directional term, it is potentially misleading in the light of the marginalised western position of Wales in medieval geography, and Welsh perceptions of the *east* may well be taken to include England.

⁵ The bibliography of crusade studies is vast. Among key studies are: Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*; S. Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*; Richard, *Histoire des croisades*; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*; Mayer, *The Crusades*; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*; Runciman, *History of the Crusades*; F. H. Russell, *The Just War*; Tyerman, *The Crusades*; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*. For Wales and the crusades, see Edbury, 'Preaching the Crusade in Wales', Pryce, 'Gerald's Journey', Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*; evidence of Welsh travel to the Orient is also mentioned, with few details, in Rees, 'The Welsh Pilgrim Overseas'.

⁶ Rees, 'The Welsh Pilgrim Overseas', p. 28, refers to pilgrimage routes to Rome and Jerusalem being well established by the time of David, Teilo, and Padarn. Note, however, that Rees refers to the *Brut Gwent*, which Griscom describes as being compiled 'in a careless and unreliable manner about 1550'; Griscom, 'The Date of Composition', p. 141 n. 3. Note also that the pilgrimage of the three saints to Jerusalem is known from late-eleventh/early-twelfth-century *vitae* of these saints. Thus the legend of their pilgrimage demonstrates that the idea of pilgrimage to Jerusalem was well established by the twelfth century rather than that pilgrimage itself was common by the sixth.

⁷ The only extensive study is Petrovskaja, 'Medieval Welsh Perceptions of the Orient', the University of Cambridge Ph.D. dissertation on which the present monograph is based. There

Three studies which examine related issues but do not address specifically attitudes towards the Orient in literary sources demonstrate, nevertheless, the richness of the material and the extent of work still to be done. In her monograph, Hurlock examines some of the references to crusading (but not to the Orient in general), in the chapter 'Crusades in Welsh Sources'.⁸ Boyd's study of Irish and Welsh attitudes to Muslims argues that these are 'derivative' and 'participatory', with a certain degree of identification occurring alongside mere copying of Continental European views.⁹ Finally, Graeme Davies's book, also focusing specifically on Islam, refers to medieval literary sources in its first few pages.¹⁰ None of these studies, however, address the broader issue of attitudes towards the Orient other than the Muslim lands and other than in the crusading context. The closest existing study from a conceptual point of view is Carr's article on the medieval Welsh worldview.¹¹ However, both the objective and the scope of the study is quite different. Carr's aim was to establish that the medieval Welsh had interactions with and an interest in the world beyond their own borders and the immediate surroundings.¹² The purpose of the present study, on the other hand, is to use the medieval Welsh corpus of the twelfth and thir-

are brief discussions in G. Davies, *The Dragon and the Crescent*, pp. 11–28; and Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, pp. 11–57.

⁸ Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, pp. 11–57, and particularly pp. 38–57 for a discussion of the poetry and the Charlemagne Cycle; see also, however, Falileyev, 'Review of Kathryn Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*'.

⁹ Boyd, 'Celts Seen as Muslims', esp. pp. 22, 31. See also Falileyev, 'Review of Kathryn Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*', pp. 92–93 (a joint review of Boyd and Hurlock). Falileyev does not note that Boyd erroneously identifies the Welsh geographical text *Delw y byd* as 'a translation of Henry of Huntington's *Imago Mundi*', whereas the surviving fragments represent a translation of only Book I of *Imago mundi* of Honorius Augustodunensis; Boyd, 'Celts Seen as Muslims', p. 24. *Delw y byd* is discussed in Chapter 1 below.

¹⁰ The focus is discussed in G. Davies, *The Dragon and the Crescent*, p. 7. Whilst referred to by Boyd in his study, this is not an academic work and is rather directed at the general public, and further spans the period from the early Middle Ages to the present day, and hence its treatment of the subject of medieval Welsh crusading and medieval attitudes to Islam is somewhat brief. The period from the eighth to the fourteenth century is covered in some seventeen pages (pp. 11–28).

¹¹ Carr, 'Inside the Tent'.

¹² Furthermore, Carr's study, due to its wide chronological and geographical scope and limitations of space, is limited to an overview of major source material and trends, and is forced to omit much that would be useful for our specific purpose of analysing attitudes towards the Orient specifically.

teenth centuries as a basis for the development of a conceptual framework for the investigation of medieval European attitudes towards the Orient. The work of Pryce, Edbury, Carr, Boyd, and Hurlock is therefore used here alongside the work of scholars engaged in the study of medieval geographical perceptions, the crusades, and other related subjects to analyse medieval Welsh attitudes to the Orient and build a new interpretative framework.

In recent studies, it has become increasingly apparent that travel to the Orient in the Middle Ages was taking place on a much broader scale than hitherto believed. For example, the fact that the remains of St Mark the Evangelist were smuggled out of Alexandria in 828/29 by two Venetian merchants suggests, as Howard points out, that they were not conspicuous in Egypt and thus that their presence was a routine event.¹³ And indeed, some European contact with the Orient has been studied from a trading angle (e.g. Venice).¹⁴ The impact of the Orient on medieval culture is therefore a topic requiring attention. However, a comprehensive study of its role in medieval European culture as a whole, or even of the literary corpora of most individual countries, is impracticable without a pre-existing guiding framework, because of the size of the corpus.

The present book therefore achieves two objectives by proposing such a framework on the basis of an investigation of the influence of increased contact with the Orient in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries on Welsh literature produced in that period. The first is the creation, based on the application and adaptation of a medieval theory of *translatio studii et imperii*, of a new interpretative framework that may be applied to broader textual corpora.¹⁵ The new framework is based on the idea of historical progression of empire and scholarship (i.e. significance, and in our anachronistic terms, 'civilization') from East to West entailed in *translatio*, identifying three distinct entities, all of which can be termed Orient but which are distinguished chronologically and contextually, and which can be defined as the biblical, historical, and contemporary Orients. The theory of the three Orients is developed in Chapter 1 and applied throughout the book.

The second objective of the book is the first thorough analysis of Welsh attitudes to the Orient, attitudes, as shall be discovered, of the self-defined mar-

¹³ Howard, 'Venice and Islam', p. 61

¹⁴ Howard, 'Venice and Islam' and *Venice and the East*.

¹⁵ The concept of *translatio* and its application are described in further detail below, p. xxviii.

gin towards, amongst other things, the cultural and religious centre. My aim is not to provide an overview of Welsh crusading activity. This subject has been recently covered by Kathryn Hurlock.¹⁶ Nor is it to investigate the recently increasingly popular subject of ‘occidentalism’, that is ‘marvels of the West’ and the representation of the inhabitants of the perceived Western margins of the medieval world in a manner similar to the representations of eastern peoples.¹⁷ Instead, the aim is to present an overview of one literary culture’s attitudes towards a specific geographical region, attitudes which would in this case have been influenced by the crusading phenomenon.¹⁸

The scope of the present discussion is geographically defined as material produced or disseminated in Wales, whether in Latin or Welsh. Chronologically, the book covers the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The dating of many of the works is very tentative, and some texts for which scholars have proposed alternative earlier dates, such as *Culhwch ac Olwen* (henceforth *Culhwch*), will also be discussed.¹⁹ The scope of a monograph, however, necessitates the imposition of certain artificial boundaries, and the twelfth- and thirteenth-century scope was selected as a guiding principle since it would, at least in theory, avoid anachronism in the application of the medieval theory selected to be the basis for the proposed new analytical framework: *translatio studii et imperii*.²⁰ On the basis of *translatio*, three types of Orient are identified, and analysed.²¹ The cut-off point is set here at the early thirteenth century, excluding the analysis of two relevant translated texts in particular: the *Ystoria Gwlat Ieuan Vendigeit* and *Ystoria Bown o Hamtwn*.²² An argument can be made for the contempo-

¹⁶ Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, but see also Falileyev, ‘Review of Kathryn Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*’, and Nicholson, ‘Review of K. Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*’.

¹⁷ For studies on this topic, see Boyd, ‘Celts seen as Muslims’; Byrne, ‘West is East’; Rooney, ‘Gerald of Wales’.

¹⁸ Since the aim of the present book is to contribute to the broader understanding of medieval Western views of the East, a map of Wales providing a guide to most of the Welsh locations mentioned in the discussion is provided at the beginning of the volume to guide the reader.

¹⁹ The edition is *Culhwch ac Olwen*, ed. by Bromwich and Evans; the most recent translation is *The Mabinogion*, trans. by Davies. The text is discussed in Chapter 4 below.

²⁰ This is discussed in greater detail below.

²¹ For a detailed introduction of the proposed theory, see below, pp. 3–6 and 20–23.

²² For an edition of the former, see *Ystoria gwlat Ieuan Vendigeit*, ed. by Edwards. The latter has been edited in *Ystoria Bown de Hamtwn*, ed. by Watkin, with a more recent edition of extracts from the text in *Selections*, ed. by Poppe and Reck. For a brief discussion of the relevance of the *Ystoria gwlat Ieuan Vendigeit*, see Carr, ‘Inside the Tent’, p. 33.

rary date of the translations of *Bown* and the Charlemagne Cycle (discussed in Chapter 3).²³ However, I prefer to follow Poppe's dating of *Bown*, placing it slightly after the mid-thirteenth century.²⁴

The textual sources examined in the present work fall into three categories: Latin texts, translated texts, and texts composed in Welsh, which I term 'native' texts. I use the term 'native' in the sense in which it is used by Erich Poppe and Regine Reck, to mean that these texts appear to have been originally composed in the Welsh language, rather than being demonstrably translations or adaptations of foreign-language originals.²⁵ I do not mean to claim that the texts are not influenced by foreign models or are of particularly ancient oral origin. To the first category belong the works of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Gerald of Wales, to the second belong the geographical treatise *Delw y byd*, as well as the Welsh chronicles, known collectively as *Brut y Tywysogion*, and the texts of the Welsh Charlemagne Cycle.²⁶ To the third category belong *Culhwch*, and the Welsh Romances — *Peredur fab Efwrawc* and *Iarlles y Ffynnawn* (henceforth referred to as *Owain*).²⁷ The approach adopted in the analysis is based on the understanding that the information contained in literary sources from the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries can inform us of the interests and the knowledge of medieval Welsh writers, translators, and scribes, and also of their audiences, using the text as a window into the society that produced it and the society that used it.

This book is divided into two parts, of which the first focuses on contacts with the Orient and sources of information about it available in Wales, while the second addresses those texts produced in Wales and in Welsh in the defined period which appear to reflect the knowledge available. Part I is separated into three chapters, following the distinction between two types of geographical information introduced in their volume by Henri Bresc and Emmanuelle Tixier du Mesnil: the geographer and the voyager. The only change introduced

²³ For the date of *Bown*, see Poppe and Reck, 'Rewriting *Bevis* in Wales and Ireland', p. 37.

²⁴ Poppe, 'Owein, *Ystorya Bown* and the Problem of "Relative Distance"', p. 76.

²⁵ Poppe and Reck, 'Rewriting *Bevis* in Wales and Ireland', p. 40.

²⁶ The best editions and translations of the main versions of *Brut y Tywysogion* are *ByT: Pen. 20*, *ByT: Pen. 20 tr.*, *ByT: RB*, and of *Brenhinedd y Saeson* is *ByS*.

²⁷ The editions are *Owein or Chwedyl Iarlles y Ffynnawn*, ed. by Thomson; and *Historia Peredur vab Efwrawc*, ed. by Goetinck; the translations used in this book are from *The Mabinogion*, trans. by Davies. For discussions, see R. L. Thomson, 'Owein', and Lovecy, 'Historia Peredur ab Efwrawc'.

to this method is the provision of an additional literary chapter.²⁸ Chapter 1 is dedicated to scholarly geographical traditions and theory. It addresses not only the physical organization of the world, but also medieval theories regarding the interrelation of history and geography. Chapter 2 examines Welsh contact with the East and its effect on the surviving written material, taking into account the broad trends and theoretical and discursive frameworks which are identified in Chapter 1 as prevalent at the time. The additional category of 'legend' is discussed in Chapter 3, which contains a study of the Welsh translations of the Charlemagne material, and the largely fictional information about the Holy Land and the Saracen lands in Spain. This material provided a more popular, though less reliable source of information on the Orient, derived, like much of the scholarly geographical material, from the Continental tradition. It is particularly important because not only are these texts imported into Wales and translated into Welsh in the period examined, but they also have been studied extensively, in their French incarnations, through the methodological prism of Orientalism, an approach to which we will return.²⁹

The aim of Part II is to examine selected medieval Welsh literary productions in order to answer the question of how the influx of information about the Orient in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries affected Welsh literature. Chapter 4 is dedicated to geographical references present in these works. Rather than taking each instance as an exception, the data is used to re-evaluate the degree of geographical knowledge that can be ascribed to the medieval Welsh educated elite. It also addresses the possible use of such knowledge in adapting the imperial claims of the legendary Arthur in comparison with Alexander and Charlemagne. It is demonstrated that in Welsh literature the Orient is often referred to in order to establish an imperial setting and underline the status of a character with whom the text is concerned. In none of the cases where Oriental place-names are used to establish such a setting is the Oriental place characterized or described. The expectation appears to have been that the name alone should be enough, and no description or explanation would be neces-

²⁸ Bresc and Tixier du Mesnil, eds, *Géographes et voyageurs au Moyen Âge*; the distinction is first mentioned on p. 10 and is maintained throughout the volume.

²⁹ For example, the subject of the image of the Saracen in the *Chanson de Roland* and similar texts has been extensively studied previously, and most recently from the perspective of Orientalism, and the theory of the 'Other'. Examples of scholarship on the subject include Runciman, 'Charlemagne and Palestine'; Comfort, 'The Literary Rôle of the Saracens'; Meredith-Jones, 'The Conventional Saracen'; Pellat and Pellat, 'L'idée de Dieu chez les "Sarrasins"'; Cohen, 'On Saracen Enjoyment'.

sary for the audience to grasp the authors' intention. This information is analysed in light of data on contemporary geographical knowledge gathered in Chapter 1. The issue of empire and the parallels between the crusade-oriented Charlemagne Cycle and medieval Welsh Arthurian narratives in Chapter 4 are taken further in Chapter 5, which addresses the issue of possible references to travel beyond the borders of Wales (and contact with things Oriental) in two of the Welsh Arthurian 'Romances'.

The East-West journey undertaken by the Patriarch in the passage cited at the beginning of this introduction echoes a major theme not only of Gerald's writing but of medieval historico-geographical thinking in general, *translatio studii et imperii*, which describes the historical movement of power, empire, and knowledge from East to West. The concept of *translatio*, first articulated in the eleventh century, colours (as illustrated by the texts analysed in Chapter 1) most of subsequent geographical thinking and can be used effectively to understand European attitudes to the Orient and to their own geographical identity.³⁰ The earlier of the two elements of this concept, *translatio imperii*, initially emerged as a term describing the perceived tendency of imperial transfer, first to Rome from the East (as described in Virgil's *Aeneid*), and subsequently from the Roman Empire to Charlemagne's empire.³¹ The term *translatio* was first applied at the end of the eleventh century to the coronation of Charlemagne, and at the beginning of the twelfth century a coherent theory was formed by Otto of Friesing (c. 1111–58).³² *Translatio studii*, a corresponding transfer of knowledge, is regarded by some scholars, such as Jacques Le Goff, as a critical part of the same process.³³

The *translatio* theory is particularly illustrative of medieval thought when applied, in the visual medium, to the medieval world maps of the T-O type, which represent a tri-partite world, divided into Asia, Africa, and Europe (see

³⁰ *Translatio* plays an important role in the articulation of imperial claims in the medieval period; this is discussed further below, pp. 29–31 and 144–155; see also Hoofnagle, 'Altera Troia', at pp. 58–60.

³¹ Curtius, *Europäische Literatur*, p. 36; L. Patterson, 'Virgil and the Historical Consciousness of the Twelfth Century', p. 160; for the text see Virgil, *Aeneid*, ed. by Henderson and trans. by Fairclough.

³² Siebeck, 'Review of Werner Goetz, *Translatio Imperii*', p. 272; for more on Otto of Friesing and a bibliography, see Vauchez, Dobson, and Lapidge, eds, *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, I, 1062. For more on Charlemagne, see McKitterick, *Charlemagne* (p. 1 for reign dates).

³³ See Curtius, *Europäische Literatur*, p. 36; Le Goff, *Medieval Civilization*, p. 171, and *Les intellectuels*, p. 14.

Figure 1).³⁴ The famous elaborate maps of the thirteenth century, such as the 'Psalter Map', in BL, Additional MS 28681, fol. 9, or the Hereford Map (both thirteenth-century English) are the product of several stages of evolution the early phases of which include the schematic T-O maps that illustrated manuscripts of Isidore's *De natura rerum*.³⁵ A Welsh example of a world map of the more elaborate type is to be found in Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3514 (s. xiii), p. 53 (see Plate 1),³⁶ while another example, in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 66, p. 2, was potentially accessible to Welshmen (see Plate 2).³⁷ World maps of a simpler type can be found in a variety of contexts, including computistical as well as geographical manuscripts.³⁸ The name of the T-O type derives from their circular shape, divided into three parts: Asia, Africa, and Europe, with the combined water systems of the Mediterranean, the Don, and the Nile often used to reinforce the T-shaped division.³⁹ The importance of this three-fold division of the world for the medieval mode of thinking cannot be overestimated as it surfaces in a variety of textual environments.⁴⁰ In these maps, East is at the top (hence the word *orientation*), and one of their most striking features is that they depict the narrative of the history of

³⁴ For more on the T-O-type *mappae mundi*, see, for instance, Woodward, 'Medieval *Mappaemundi*'; and, among more recent works, essays in Talbert and Unger, eds, *Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*; for a catalogue of medieval *mappae mundi*, see Destombes, *Mappemondes*. The tri-partite division of the world is not a medieval phenomenon. While its medieval pedigree can be traced securely back to Isidore, it also appears in classical geography; see, for instance, Strabo (*Geography*, II. 2. 18), who divides the inhabited world into three parts: Europe, Libya and Asia; Strabo, *Geographica*, ed. by Sterrett and trans. by Jones, I, 466–69.

³⁵ See Nebenzahl, *Mapping the Silk Road*, p. 26; Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought*, p. 13; such an illustration occurs in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 417, fol. 88^r; referred to by Kline, p. 13 n. 7. For images of the Hereford Map and the Psalter Map, see <<http://www.herefordcathedral.org/visit-us/mappa-mundi-1>> [accessed 16 April 2014] and <<http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/mapsviews/psalter/large17693.html>> [accessed 16 April 2014]. According to Woodward, it is possible that the earliest T-O schemas may have accompanied Sallust's *De bello Jurgurthino*; Woodward, 'Reality, Symbolism, Time, and Space', p. 511.

³⁶ For more on the manuscript, see Chapter 1 below, pp. 8–9, and Crick, 'Power, Preaching and the Crusades'.

³⁷ The manuscript is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 1 below.

³⁸ For a catalogue of medieval *mappae mundi*, see Destombes, *Mappemondes*; for more on *mappae mundi* in computistical manuscripts, see Edson, 'World Maps'; Gautier Dalché, '*Mappae mundi*'.

³⁹ Woodward, 'Reality, Symbolism, Time, and Space', p. 511.

⁴⁰ For discussions of individual instances, see below, pp. 12, 15–17, 33, 147.

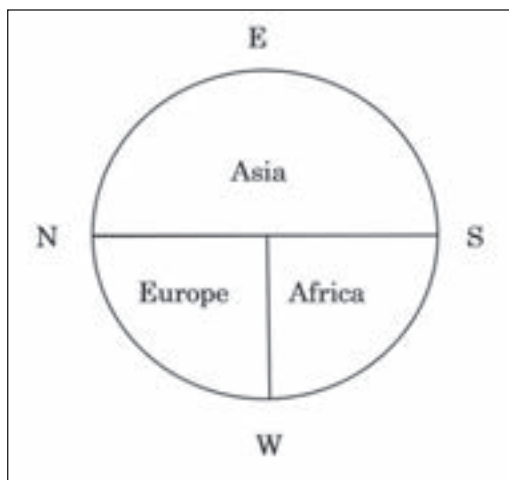


Figure 1.
T-O map schema.

the world as well as its geography, and the intention in their composition can be said to be as much historical as it is geographical.⁴¹ The Hereford map, for instance, contains a self-reference as 'history'.⁴² In terms of the depictions themselves, at the top of such maps conventionally is the Earthly Paradise, often containing a depiction of Adam and Eve and the Tower of Babel is depicted as standing (see Plate 3). The maps thus provide a visual representation of history spread out onto a geographical framework. Mapping the *translatio* onto them, one can see a progression from the one of the earliest stages in biblical history (the state of grace prior to the Fall of Man), represented by the presence of Adam and Eve in the Earthly Paradise, through the empires of Alexander and the Romans, through the Crucifixion, and into the West (and North) into the medieval European powers. The events portrayed in the East are, on the whole, earlier, while events portrayed in the West (or North-West, in Europe), tend to be, on the whole, later, marking a historical progression as one's gaze moves westwards and downwards on such a map. Conversely, looking Eastwards within the framework of these maps, the reader's gaze could be said to travel back in time, tracing *translatio* backwards towards its origins.

The application of the medieval *translatio* theory to an analysis of the *map-pae mundi* is appropriate in light of the relative dating of the subjects in question. The *translatio* theory, as we have seen, came to prominence in the twelfth century, and while it would be rash to argue that it was uniformly known, it is

⁴¹ Woodward, 'Reality, Symbolism, Time, and Space', p. 511.

⁴² Woodward, 'Reality, Symbolism, Time, and Space', pp. 514–15.

one of the least anachronistic interpretative frameworks that can be applied to the analysis of medieval material.

It must be acknowledged that since the publication of Edward Said's influential *Orientalism* in 1978, the term 'Orient' has carried a heavy load of cultural and political connotations. Due to the fame of Said's work, the tendency to apply the theoretical framework of *Orientalism* to the subject at hand has become a common element of many recent discussions of medieval attitudes to the Orient.⁴³ This phenomenon is prompted by the prominent dichotomy of Orient versus Occident observed in some medieval accounts.⁴⁴ Yet the term 'Orientalism', as defined in Saidian discourse, refers to the study of, or fascination with the Orient to the exclusion of everything else.⁴⁵ Further, his 'Orientalism' grows hand-in-hand with the growth of European empires in the modern period and is thus linked to the discourse of domination and imperialism.⁴⁶ In the literature produced in medieval Western Europe, however, the Orient may exercise a certain fascination, but is rarely the unique focus of any given text, and certainly not the unique focus of any of the works examined here.⁴⁷ The Orient in all of the works examined here is one of many themes, and functions as part of a whole, and not as an exclusive interest. Its place is in

⁴³ A recent example is Volfing, 'Orientalism in the *Strassburger Alexander*'. See also K. L. Lynch, 'East Meets West', p. 532. While, as I demonstrate below, Orientalism is not a theory suited to the study of the Middle Ages, it has for a long time been the only framework immediately available for use. For earlier studies on medieval Western attitudes to Islam, see, for instance, Southern, *Western Views on Islam*.

⁴⁴ Note that the dichotomy is simply due to the fact that these texts are invariably written from the point of view of the Western observer.

⁴⁵ Said gives three definitions of Orientalism: an academic field (regional studies), a style of thought based on the Occident/Orient dichotomy, and an 'institution of domination'; see Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 2–3. It is the latter element that has since gained prominence as the primary definition of Orientalism. There is also the matter of the rather specific definition of Orientalism as the occupation of an 'Orientalist', a person preoccupied exclusively with the matters of the East, be it 'Levantine matters' for eighteenth-century French *orientalistes*, Asian languages and cultures for the nineteenth-century orientalist, specifically India if he was British in the 1830s (Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing*, pp. 5–6). This definition is inapplicable to the Middle Ages.

⁴⁶ See, for instance, Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, pp. xiv–xv, xxviii, and 84.

⁴⁷ Irwin points out that twelfth-century translations of Arabic texts into Latin are often mistakenly seen as medieval Orientalism in this sense; see Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing*, pp. 7, 19–53. However, the purpose there is learning, and often learning science that in its origin is classical (Greek), rather than curiosity about the Orient.

the background, where it is often tied to *translatio studii et imperii*, and while empire plays a role in the medieval framework, too, it is the story of inheritance from rather than invasion of the East, and does not culminate in colonialism (at least for the texts described in this book), which according to Said is the almost invariable result of imperialism.⁴⁸ Further, and perhaps most importantly, the crucial feature of Orientalism as a framework applied since Said by literary scholars is a sense of Western superiority. The problem with using the terminology developed by Said and his followers is that it was designed exclusively for the analysis of a specific feature of early modern and modern thought, and specifically in the context of modern (and early modern) empire-building. Putting medieval perceptions of the Orient in an Orientalist context would mean falling into the fallacy of what Stein called a 'nineteenth-century teleology', where 'all history is nothing but the history of modernity; the rest of the world possesses a history only insofar as it is a prelude to modernity, as the not-yet modern, and medieval studies witnesses modernity at its origin'.⁴⁹ It would be as much of an error to see medieval perceptions of the Orient to be precursors of nineteenth-century Orientalism as it would be to equate the medieval *mappae mundi* with modern world maps. Both were dictated by the cultural and political context of the age. That is the only similarity. The context itself is completely different. Said's paradigm is not valid for the Middle Ages. Yet, if Orientalism is dismissed as a guiding theoretical principle, we are left without the comforting certainty of a pre-existing interpretative framework. It is clear that a new approach is needed for understanding medieval attitudes to the Orient. To follow Simon Gaunt's suggestion that a dissonance between a modern theoretical framework and a medieval text may help advance understanding of both framework and text, it seems reasonable to suggest a new, alternative approach partially based on the dissonance between the theory of

⁴⁸ Arthur's campaigns referred to in *Culhwch ac Olwen*, discussed in Chapter 4 below, for instance, do not appear to result in settlement and colonialism. For colonialism and imperialism, see Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, p. 8.

⁴⁹ Stein, 'Multilingualism', p. 30. For more on the application of Orientalism to the Middle Ages, see Akbari's, 'From Due East to True North', 'Alexander in the Orient', and *Idols in the East*, pp. 1–19, esp. p. 3. Akbari discusses the *translatio imperii* and the medieval geographical framework in relation to the analysis of medieval Western-Eastern relations, but argues rather that the opposition is not binary but related to the tripartite division of the world and the four cardinal points of the map, Akbari, 'Alexander in the Orient'. As Akbari notes in her introduction, *Idols in the East* focuses almost exclusively on Islam, leaving aside classical Greece and such figures as Alexander the Great (p. 11).

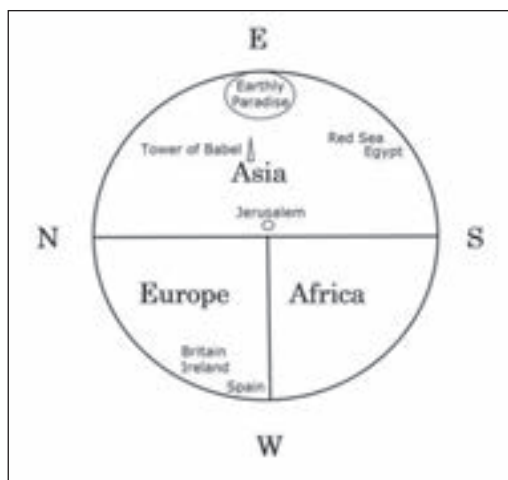


Figure 2.
T-O map schema with details.

Orientalism and the medieval texts.⁵⁰ The approach suggested is based on the medieval *translatio* theory.

Aside from the issue of the scientific superiority of the Arab world at the time (hence the undertaking of translations of geometric, medical, astrological, and other treatises from Arabic into Latin from the mid-twelfth-century onward), the Orient held Jerusalem, the Holy Land, Babylon, not to mention the Earthly Paradise (see Figure 2 and Plates 2 and 3).⁵¹ If the most meaningful places for Christianity were located in the Orient, the pilgrims who went there in penitence or religious fervour, and some of whom described the journey in writing, may have been ‘essentialist, racist, patronizing, and ideologically motivated’ but were not, in the vast majority of cases, ‘imperialist administrators.’⁵² Perhaps a more accurate view would be, based on contemporaneous ideas of *translatio*, that these pilgrims travelled back, in space and, in a certain sense, also in time, to the most significant places (in spatial and temporal terms) of

⁵⁰ Gaunt, ‘Can the Middle Ages Be Postcolonial?’, p. 161.

⁵¹ For a discussion of the position of these in the medieval world-view, see below p. 5; for more on medieval translations from Arabic, see below, p. 43 n. 170.

⁵² Terms taken from Irwin’s summary of Said’s theory, in *For Lust of Knowing*, p. 3. Note, however, that although medieval texts should hardly be described as ‘imperialist’ (the word carries too many modern connotations), they are often ‘racist’ and ‘ideologically motivated’. See, for example the discussion of the terminological confusion between Jews and Muslims below, pp. 62–68.

their culture.⁵³ The process of cultural change and, to use a loaded term, 'progress', of empire towards the West, leaves the Orient in this framework as a layered concept of religious centrality, carrying in this sense contemporary importance, but also historical religious importance (in the sense of biblical history), and also of imperial past (since the *imperium* has since passed to the West). The *mappae mundi*, in their synchronous representation of historical events, serve as the articulation of this layering: they record biblical and historical locations as well as contemporary cities, and their contemplation is a contemplation of a world frozen across the ages.

This is not to say that the medieval worldview is necessarily that represented in this reading of *mappae mundi*. However, the combination of the notions of *translatio*, leaving the historical significance of the Orient firmly in the past, and the timelessness of the biblical Orient, indicate that the medieval Western view of the Orient could not be an 'Orientalist' one.⁵⁴ Looking eastwards from Western Europe would therefore be a dual exercise of looking towards the centre (of the world according to *mappae mundi*, the biblically significant Holy Land) and looking back into the past (both biblical and classical). Thus, geographical representations and concepts in the medieval period are predominantly also historical.⁵⁵ This idea of the immediacy of all that had happened in biblical times, which coloured the ecclesiastical view of history, co-existed with the concept of transmission, change, and loss inherent in the concept of *translatio*. In other words, medieval culture represents the co-existence of ecclesiastical and political interpretations of history. Thus, while the *translatio* theory, with its medieval origins, in some respects conflicts with the application of the Orientalist theory to the Middle Ages, it also provides an alternative framework of interpretation. The present volume is dedicated to the development of this framework based on a case-study of medieval Welsh literature. While

⁵³ For more on this, see, for example, discussion below, pp. 4–6, 22–24.

⁵⁴ See Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing*, for more on the debate surrounding the dates for the beginnings of Orientalism (p. 6) and for an analysis of 'Orientalism', or what is often taken as 'Orientalism' of the Middle Ages (pp. 19–53). For more on *translatio* in relation to Orientalism, see Akbari, 'Alexander in the Orient', pp. 105, 107.

⁵⁵ This synchronism of geography and history provides a vital explanation for such phenomena as the identification and confusion of Saracens with biblical Jews in the context of the crusades in the twelfth century. For example, in crusade literature the Almoravides were often called Moabites; see Yeager, *Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative*, p. 19; Sanok, 'Almoravides at Thebes', p. 291 n. 29; introduction to *The Pseudo-Turpin*, ed. by Smyser, p. 25. This synchronization and merging is also discussed below.

total objectivity is impossible in any historical account, it is hoped that this approach will help to avoid both anachronism and the imposition of modern political discourses on medieval material.

The selected term, 'Orient' is broadly used to designate the area which on a medieval world map would be defined as Asia, but also extending the concept to include Saracen Spain.⁵⁶ The focus on a single cultural unit — texts produced and circulated, in Latin and in Welsh, in medieval Wales — is intended to counterbalance the geographical breadth of the 'Orient' under examination.

⁵⁶ See above, p. xxii n. 4. For more on medieval world maps, see below. Spain is generally included in discussions of Arab culture in the medieval period and in particular in relation to clashes between Christianity and Islam; see for example, Watt, *The Influence of Islam on Medieval Europe*, pp. 22–29, 44–48. For the position of Spain on a typical medieval T-O-type *mappa mundi*, see Figure 2. The representation of Saracen Spain is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3. It is also worth noting that in the medieval world-view, parts of Africa were considered to lie in Asia. One of the 'Three Indias' of the medieval world, for instance, corresponds to Ethiopia, which was seen as the region located above Egypt, to the right of the Red Sea (see Figure 2). This places it in the Asian part of the tri-partite world, and separates it from India only by the stretch of the Red Sea. For more on this see Kimble, *Geography in the Middle Ages*, p. 128 n. 1; Wright, *Geographical Lore*, pp. 272–73; Tzanaki, *Mandeville's Medieval Audiences*, p. 85; Heng, *Empire of Magic*, pp. 437–38 n. 30. Although the denominations vary, the three Indias can be thought to roughly correspond, in our terms, to: India, a region falling somewhere between India and China (somewhere around Tibet, perhaps), and Ethiopia.

Part I

Sources of Information

THEORY: GEOGRAPHY, *TRANSLATIO STUDII* *ET IMPERII*, AND THE THREE ORIENTS

The Image of the World

Geographical information of a theoretical nature was available through the medium of encyclopaedic texts. For Wales, one such text is *Delw y byd*, a translation of Book I of the *Imago mundi* by Honorius Augustodunensis.¹ This part of *Imago mundi* describes the world as it is depicted in the T-O-type *mappae mundi* (see Figure 1 above, and Plates 1 and 2). It is therefore worth reminding ourselves of some of the main elements of such a representation of the world before proceeding further.

Although such splendid examples of the genre as the Psalter Map and the Hereford Map are rare survivors (the Ebstorf Map is a sad example of a recent loss, while of the Duchy of Cornwall Map only a fragment survives), the pattern of their survival, alongside the prevalence of T-O schemas in the numerous Isidoran manuscripts and other geographical texts from the Middle Ages, indicates that this was one of the dominant ways of looking at the world. T-O-type

¹ *Delw y byd*, ed. by Lewis and Diverres; I am in the process of preparing a new edition and translation of this text. The best and most recent edition of *Imago mundi* is by Flint. Previous editions are by Schotto, Wilmans, and Migne. The latter, which is also used as parallel text in the edition of Lewis and Diverres, reproduces the text of the former; see introduction to *Imago mundi*, ed. by Flint, p. 44. The chapter numberings differ slightly between the editions. The numbers I give in the present discussion refer to Flint's edition, with those of the Migne and Lewis and Diverres editions given in square brackets.

maps have a tendency to represent not only the relative location of things but also their relative importance. Thus Jerusalem, which tends to mark the centre of the map, also tends to dominate other cities in size, followed by Rome and sometimes Constantinople. The spiritual significance of things and their importance to history and legend is sufficient reason for their inclusion on the map, regardless of whether they were still (or had ever been) in existence. The point of origin for this system of co-ordinates was Jerusalem, the centrality of which, as represented, for instance on the T-O-type *mappae mundi* of the High Middle Ages, was established following Psalm 74. 12 (73. 12), ‘Deus autem, rex noster ante secula, operatus est salute in medio terrae’ (‘But God is our king before ages: he hath wrought salvation in the midst of the earth’), and Ezekiel 5. 5, ‘Hæc dicit Dominus Deus: ista est Jerusalem, in medio gentium posui eam, et in circuitu ejus terras’ (‘Thus saith the Lord God: This is Jerusalem, I have set her in the midst of the nations, and the countries round about her’).²

With Jerusalem established as the physical and spiritual centre of the world, all the other spaces could be seen in relation to it.³ Many of the surviving major medieval world maps from the High Middle Ages are English, and it is significant for our understanding of how the medieval thinkers saw their own position in the world, that in these English maps Britain is placed on the very edge. As Molly Robinson Kelly points out, the descriptions of significant locations in works of literature function as triggers for the audience to form their own identity of place.⁴ The same works for positioning. The depictions of the Orient in literature help form the identity of the writer and audience in relation to the narrated places. Britain and Wales on these maps are, as has already been mentioned, on the lower left-hand edge (see, Plates 1 and 2, for instance). The medieval Welsh view of the Orient is thus that of the man on the margins looking towards the centre. Our sources are self-consciously placed in the farthest West within the framework of this world-view.

Writers based in Britain appear to have had an acute sense of the marginality of its position in geographical terms. Gerald of Wales, for example, in the passage already quoted, described the Patriarch’s voyage to Britain as ‘ad

² The translations are from *The Holy Bible: Douay-Rheims Version*, rev. by Challoner, pp. 618 and 895. Woodward, ‘Reality, Symbolism, Time, and Space’, p. 515.

³ For a discussion of the centrality of Jerusalem, see Kelly, *The Hero’s Place*, pp. 48–52; Mittman, *Maps and Monsters*, p. 35. See also the important discussion of the cartographic tradition in Woodward, ‘Reality, Symbolism, Time, and Space’, pp. 515–17.

⁴ Kelly, *The Hero’s Place*, p. 21.

extremos tendens Europae fines [...] extra communem uidelicet orbem, angulum occidentalis oceani remotissimum' ('aiming for the extreme boundaries of Europe [...] to the most remote corner of the western ocean, beyond the common sphere').⁵ Gerald is far from the only example of this trend, nor was this way of seeing Britain a twelfth-century development. Similar sentiments were expressed much earlier by Bede and Gildas.⁶ Indeed, they are also found in writers outside Britain, even in the classical period — Pliny the Younger and Isidore, for instance.⁷ Britain and Ireland were perceived as positioned on the very margin of the world, at a distance from its crucial centre. This feature is taken across from the classical tradition into British writing, in a self-imposed sense of marginality: located on the edge of Europe, Britain was on the margins of the world, distant from the cultural and religious centre of Jerusalem.⁸ By contrast Asia occupied half of the world (see Figure 1). Not only this, but the half it occupied was the more significant half of the world by virtue of containing all of the biblical lands, Babylon, the Earthly Paradise, the lands famous in legends (such as those of Prester John and the lands conquered by Alexander the Great).

When positioning views of the Orient in relation to the framework provided by the *translatio studii et imperii*, it becomes abundantly clear that no single unit can be identified to be shelved summarily under the label 'Orient'. Rather, three separate entities emerge, all claiming the title, but separated either by their chronological position in relation to *translatio studii et imperii* or by their specific cultural connotations. These three different 'Orient's': historical, biblical, and contemporary, which form the core of the new analytical framework proposed in this book, are at the centre of the present discussion. The biblical Orient is located primarily in the past, but is also the timeless construct

⁵ Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, II. 24, ed. by Warner, p. 203; my translation. For a map arguably connected both to Gerald and this view of Britain, see discussion below, p. 17, and Plate 4.

⁶ Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, I. 8, ed. and trans. by Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 34–35. Bede's attitudes to the Saracens are discussed in Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 72–78. Gildas, *De Excidio Britonum*, III. 1, ed. and trans. by Winterbottom, pp. 16, 89; for a discussion see Mittman, *Maps and Monsters*, pp. 16–20, 23.

⁷ For example, in Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, IV. 16, ed. and trans. by Rackham, II, 196–99; Isidore, *Etymologies*, XIV. 6. 2, ed. by Lindsay, II. For a discussion, see Mittman, *Maps and Monsters*, p. 17; for a list of other examples, see Michelet, 'Centrality, Marginality and Distance'. Strabo also, whilst he does not explicitly refer to the marginality of Britain, does invoke the idea of its distance and consequent insignificance for the purposes of Roman political ambitions, Strabo, *Geographica*, II. 5. 8, ed. by Sterrett and trans. by Jones, I, 444–47.

⁸ Mittman, *Maps and Monsters*, p. 37.

depicted on the *mappae mundi* discussed above. Its significance is primarily religious, and it is the *umbillicus mundi* and the home of the holiest associations of Western Christianity. The second, located almost exclusively in the past, is the classical Orient. It is the source in particular of *translatio studii et imperii*. Its main symbol for the medieval mind is Troy. In the last place chronologically is the contemporary Orient — geographically corresponding to the other two Orients, and including also Muslim Spain, but, being left behind by the process of *translatio*, requiring, in the medieval Western view, an intervention or ‘liberation’ to bring back its original religious significance.⁹ It is with this contemporary Orient that most of the crusade discourses of the Middle Ages are concerned.

Book I of the *Imago mundi* follows the pattern set by the T-O-type maps in its structure. It begins by describing the countries of Asia, then moving to Europe (finishing its description with Spain and Britain), and then moving on to Africa. It also contains historical sketches connected to individual place-names, set up as etymological explanations of the names, and includes references to biblical and historical locations such as the Earthly Paradise and Babylon. This text was composed in the first quarter or so of the twelfth century. The author of the original Latin text, Honorius Augustodunensis, was active between the mid-1090s and the mid-1130s or 40s.¹⁰ While little is known of his origins or, indeed, career, it has been suggested that Honorius spent some time in England, in Canterbury and perhaps Worcester, before returning to Southern Germany.¹¹ In England, he may have belonged to the circle of St Anselm and indeed there are manuscripts attributing Honorius’s writings to the latter.¹² The *Imago mundi* is one of Honorius’s works which appear to have English associations.¹³

⁹ Indeed, this requirement of a reverse movement eastwards is what permits writers such as Gerald of Wales to describe the further imperial expansion Westward in negative terms, despite the overall positive implications of the *translatio imperii* which had brought empire to the West up to that point; see discussion below, pp. 23–24.

¹⁰ *Imago mundi*, ed. by Flint, pp. 7–8; Flint, ‘The Chronology of the Works of Honorius Augustodunensis’, p. 215. Note that in her edition of *Imago mundi*, Flint proposes the 1140s as the *terminus ante quem*, but in ‘Chronology’, p. 241, she suggests the 1130s.

¹¹ *Imago mundi*, ed. by Flint, pp. 7–8.

¹² For an overview and critique of the theory associating Honorius with Anselm, see Crouse, ‘Honorius Augustodunensis: Disciple of Anselm?’; for influence of Anselm on Honorius see also Sturlese, ‘Zwischen Anselm und Johannes Scotus Eriugena’.

¹³ Flint, ‘The Chronology of the Works of Honorius Augustodunensis’, p. 219, and *Imago mundi*, ed. by Flint, pp. 8–9.

The three surviving manuscripts containing the earliest version/redaction of the work (which dates to *c.* 1110) are all English.¹⁴ These are CCCC, MS 66 (s. xii^{ex}), BL Royal 13 A xxi (s. xiv), and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B 484 (s. xii^{ex}).¹⁵ (For the *mappa mundi* which accompanies the *Imago mundi* text in CCCC, MS 66, henceforth referred to as the Corpus manuscript, see Plate 1.) Rawlinson B 484 is a composite manuscript, containing only a quire (fols 1–6) bearing a fragment of the text (I. 3[3]–35[36]).¹⁶ There was also a considerable interest in the subjects of *Imago mundi* on the part of English scholars, such as William of Malmesbury (*c.* 1090–*c.* 1142) and Henry of Huntington (*c.* 1088–*c.* 1157).¹⁷ This cumulative evidence seems to point towards the possibility that the first version of *Imago mundi*, at least, may have been composed in England.

The *Imago mundi* consists of three Books. Book I, translated into Welsh as *Delw y byd*, deals with cosmography and geography. Book II is a treatise on the measurement of time. And Book III is a chronicle.¹⁸ It is worth noting also that it is only Book I that is used by the other vernacular adaptations of the text, such as the French *Image du monde* of Gautier (or Gossuin) de Metz.¹⁹ It was also translated into several other languages, including Italian and Castilian.²⁰

¹⁴ Petrovskaja, 'La disparition', p. 126.

¹⁵ For a detailed description of the manuscripts, see Petrovskaja, '*Delw y Byd*', pp. 263–65.

¹⁶ Petrovskaja, 'The Travels of a Quire', esp. p. 251. In terms of the further spread of the text in the country, of the six English manuscripts considered by Valerie Flint, three come from the diocese of Lincoln, one from Worcester, and one from York; *Imago mundi*, ed. by Flint, p. 9.

¹⁷ *Imago mundi*, ed. by Flint, p. 9. For William of Malmesbury, see R. M. Thomson, 'William of Malmesbury'; for Henry of Huntington, see Greenway, 'Henry (c. 1088–c. 1157)'.

¹⁸ *Delw y byd*, ed. by Lewis and Diverres, p. xi.

¹⁹ For more information, see *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: le Moyen Âge*, dir. by Grente, p. 555; Fritsche, *Untersuchung über die Quellen de Image du Monde*, p. 28; Ribémont, 'Statut de l'astronomie et évolution', p. 285. For an edition of the text of the French prose version, see Gossouin/Gautier de Metz, *L'Image du monde*, ed. by Prior. An edition and discussion of the first verse version can be found in Connochie-Bourgne's unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 'L'Image du monde'.

²⁰ For more on the Castilian version, entitled *Semeiança del mundo*, see Redondo, 'Building a Literary Model', and Kinkade, 'Un nuevo manuscrito'. For an edition of the text, see *Semeiança del mundo*, ed. by Bull and Williams. For more on the Italian version, see Finzi, 'Di un inedito volgarizamento'. Note that the medieval French version was also translated into Italian and into Middle English; the Italian edition is *L'Ymagine del mondo*, ed. by Chiovaro. The text made its way into English in 1481, when William Caxton translated and published the French version as *Mirror of the World*. Caxton retained all the information in the original text, making only minor corrections to errors that were present in his exemplar; see Knapp, 'Translating for Print', esp. pp. 73–74.

That the original work was extremely popular is attested by the large number of surviving manuscripts.²¹ The first version of the work, produced *c.* 1110, was subsequently revised three times, around 1123, 1133, and 1139.²²

The particular interest of *Delw y byd* is that, because it is a translation of Book I of *Imago mundi* only, it is entirely and exclusively a geographical and astronomical treatise, and is concerned primarily with the following topics: the four elements, a description of the structure and layout of the inhabited world, corresponding to that depicted on the *mappae mundi*, with details of peoples and animals, and an account of the planets rotating around the Earth, the signs of the zodiac, their history, and their origin. There is no evidence that the other two Books of the Latin treatise were ever translated into Welsh.

A manuscript containing a copy of *Imago mundi* which has connections with Wales is Exeter, Cathedral Library, 3514 (s. xiii) (for an image from this manuscript, see Plate 1).²³ This manuscript contains only part of Book I (chapters 1[1]–35[36]), and its text appears to belong to the 1123 rather than the 1110 group.²⁴ While it throws little light on the translation of the 1110 text into Welsh, it does suggest that *Imago mundi* may have had a wider dissemination in Wales than may have hitherto been thought. Furthermore, the section of *Imago mundi* this manuscript contains is presented as a complete text, rather than as an extract, finishing with the end of the purely geographical description

²¹ There are around twenty manuscripts surviving from the twelfth century alone, with around the same number again in fragments; Flint, 'World History', p. 211, and *Imago mundi*, ed. by Flint, p. 18. For a complete list of manuscripts and their locations, see Flint, 'Honorius Augustodunensis', pp. 165–67.

²² It appears that the process of revision was one of addition and expansion. Confusingly, Flint terms the passages which distinguish the first, short version, from the later, longer ones, 'omissions', although her argument is that these passages were added to the later redactions rather than that they were removed; for the discussion in question. Flint, 'World History', pp. 211–12; *Imago mundi*, ed. by Flint, pp. 35–40; *Ex Honorii Augustodunensis summa totius et imagine mundi*, ed. by Wilmans, pp. 127–28; the theory Wilmans proposes regarding the various recensions is critiqued by Flint.

²³ For more on the manuscript, see Crick, 'Power, Preaching and the Crusades'.

²⁴ The manuscript contains some of the diagnostic passages identified by Flint as distinguishing the 1123 from the 1110 group: I. 12 'India quoque magnetem [...] frangi poterit' (p. 46 col. 2, ll. 25–28), and I. 13 'Persidia lapidem [...] deficit' (p. 47 col. 1, ll. 10–13), while it lacks additions which characterise the later groups (see, for instance, I. 3, p. 44 col. 1, ll. 1–3, lacking later additions of *ut pisces*, etc.); for a discussion of the diagnostic passages, see *Imago mundi*, ed. by Flint, pp. 37–38. Note that unlike the Rawlinson B 484 quire, this text is not fragmentary but rather concludes at the end of chapter 35[36].

of the regions of the world ('Insulas circuiimus et cetera. Explicit liber qui dicitur ymago mundi', 'We have wondered through the islands etc. Ends the book called Ymago mundi'),²⁵ suggesting that Welsh interest may have been exclusively in that subject and supporting the supposition, based on the evidence of surviving fragments, that *Delw y byd* even in its complete form may have consisted of a translation of Book I only.

Delw y byd survives in the following five medieval manuscripts:²⁶

Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Peniarth 17 (s. xiii)²

Oxford, Jesus College, MS 111, Red Book of Hergest (1382–c. 1400)²⁷

Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Peniarth 5, White Book of Rhydderch (c. 1350)²⁸

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B 467 (c. 1400)

Library Company of Philadelphia, MS 8680 (1382×c. 1400)²⁹

Peniarth 17 has lost some quires and the text it contains is acephalous, commencing at I. 53[48] and running until 147[140], which corresponds to the end of Book I of *Imago mundi*. Its omission of chapter 78[73] is matched in the other manuscripts and is indicative of its text's correspondence with the 1110 version of *Imago mundi*. Peniarth 17 also omits chapters 120[114]–125[119] inclusively, and chapter 138[132]. The Red Book contains two versions of the text, which represent the Welsh translations of two different recensions of the earliest version of *Imago mundi*. To distinguish between the two RB versions I call the text of cols 502–16 'RB-B' and the text of cols 975–98 'RB-A'.³⁰ RB-A commences with a translation of the *Epistola Christiani ad Honorium* (*Letter of Christianus to Honorius*), and, omitting chapter 4, continues until 52[47], it then contains chapters 57[52]–81[76], but omitting 71[66] and, as all other

²⁵ Exeter, Cathedral Library, 3514, fol. 52v; my transcription and translation.

²⁶ *MWM*, pp. 58–60.

²⁷ The manuscript is henceforth referred to as RB.

²⁸ Henceforth referred to as WB.

²⁹ Also erroneously known as Free Library of Philadelphia, MS 8680. One of the hands active in this manuscript is that of Hywel Fychan, shared with RB; *MWM*, p. 60. For more on this manuscript, see Guy, 'A Welsh Manuscript' <http://www.llgc.org.uk/fileadmin/fileadmin/docs_gwefan/amdanom_ni/cylchgrawn_llgc/cgr_erth_XXXVIrh1_2014_5.pdf> [accessed 28 June 2014].

³⁰ The reason for this inversion of A and B is that I follow Lewis and Diverres who, considering the fragment of cols 975–98 as the better fragment, gave the version preserved in it and Peniarth 17 the designation A.

texts of this version, also omitting 78[73]. Finally, it also contains a translation of chapter 88[83]. RB-B contains I. 1[1]–81[76], omitting chapters 4[4], 44[43]–47[44], 50[46]–51[46], 53[48]–57[52], 71[66]–73[68], and 78[73]. The text in the White Book is acephalous, due to damage to the manuscript, and commences at I. 12[13], thenceforth corresponding for the most part with RB-B. The Philadelphia and Rawlinson manuscripts contain fragments of the text. In the case of the Philadelphia manuscript it is possible that the surviving fragments may represent the remains of what once had been a more complete text: it contains a version of chapters 11[12]–12[13] and 19[20]–23[24], and the lacuna in between coincides with break between the folios. Meanwhile, the Rawlinson manuscript contains extracts from the text, 38[38]–41[41], 59[54]–63[58], which appear to have been deemed of relevance in its medical context.

Based on a comparison of a number of diagnostic sections of the text attested in the Welsh and Latin manuscripts, it has been possible to identify two different Welsh traditions of the text, which derive from two different Latin recensions of the earliest (1110) version of *Imago mundi*.³¹ The first of these, ‘Recension A’, which lies behind RB-A and presumably also the closely related Welsh text of Peniarth 17, can be identified as that preserved in the surviving *Imago mundi* quire of Rawlinson B 484. ‘Recension B’, for which no Latin manuscript witness can be identified, is the basis of the second, ‘abridged’, Welsh translation, attested by the fragments of RB-B and WB. Since the Welsh Rawlinson (Rawlinson B 467) and the Philadelphia fragments do not overlap with the Rawlinson B 484 fragment, and thus the diagnostic sections used to establish the relationship between RB-A, RB-B, Peniarth 17, and White Book texts with Rawlinson B 484 and the Corpus text cannot be used in this case, their precise relationship to the two identified recensions remains unclear.

Whilst neither of the identified Welsh recensions of the text appear to be related directly to the Corpus manuscript of *Imago mundi*, that manuscript has Welsh connections. It bears a late-twelfth/early-thirteenth-century *ex libris* assigning it to Sawley, where there was an appreciable presence of Welshmen, and several direct connections to Wales.³² Thus at least one manuscript from

³¹ The most important variant is in I. 26[28], the chapter describing Italy, where phrases within a single passage occur in different order in the different versions; see Petrovskaia, ‘*Delwy Byd*’, pp. 265–73.

³² There is some debate on whether the manuscript was produced at that abbey; Meehan, ‘Durham Twelfth-Century Manuscripts’, p. 443. With CUL, MS Ff. I. 27 (its misbound other half) and CCCC, MS 139 this is one of only three books identified as survivors of Sawley’s medieval library; Dumville, ‘The Sixteenth-Century History’, p. 427. These manuscripts

the 1110 group can be demonstrated to have been produced in a context where Welshmen would have had access to it. Furthermore, we have a possible route of transmission for the text, outlined by the known contact between Wales and Lancashire.³³ Cultural and intellectual contact and transmission of information across the Anglo-Welsh border is significant in that the case of *Imago mundi* is not unique. As shall be seen in the discussion of other sources below, Wales was exposed to a great deal of influence from both English and Continental sources, both in terms of literary material (such as the Charlemagne Cycle) and political discourse (Gerald of Wales, Cistercian crusade preaching, and Geoffrey of Monmouth are only some of the examples).

Imago mundi and *Delw y byd* belong firmly within the medieval European geographical tradition. The geography and history of the circular inhabited world the text describes is best visually represented in *mappae mundi* of the T-O type. As has already been noted, many of the surviving medieval world maps are English. Indeed some, like the 'Corpus map', which Welshmen may have had access to, had particular connections to Wales. Indeed, a *mappa mundi* survives in a Welsh manuscript, Exeter 3514, p. 53, where it follows the conclusion of its copy of *Imago mundi* (see Plate 1).³⁴ Finally, the Hereford Map, which was produced either in Hereford or Lincoln c. 1300, is located geographically close to Wales. Thus, although it is hard to prove beyond a doubt that the *mappae mundi* influenced Welsh geographical conceptions, including views of the Orient and of their own place in the world, it has been convincingly argued by Thomas O'Loughlin that at least Gerald of Wales was aware of these maps and the theoretical tradition they represented, and was interested in them, and influenced by them.³⁵

The influence of this type of geographical thinking, if not necessarily of *Imago mundi*, *Delw y byd*, or *mappae mundi* themselves, on Welsh literary pro-

contain a group of texts, termed by Dumville 'Celtic-Latin texts'; of which one is a version of *Historia Brittonum*; CCCC, MS 139 also contains *Vita Gildæ*, which Dumville concludes might have come directly from Wales; Dumville, 'Celtic-Latin Texts', pp. 20–21.

³³ For more on the connections between Wales and Lancashire, see Edmonds, 'Twelfth-Century Migration'. For a more detailed argument, see Petrovskaia, '*Delw y Byd*', pp. 275–77.

³⁴ The map immediately follows the *Imago mundi* text in this manuscript and appears to be intended as an illustration to it. The extract from Isidore's *Etymologies* surrounding it appears to be a later addition, particularly as the map serves as an apt illustration to the exclusively geographical nature of the extract in this manuscript (the text ends at I. 35, completing the discussion of the regions of the earth and before the text switches to a discussion of hell and of water).

³⁵ O'Loughlin, 'An Early Thirteenth-Century Map', pp. 24–39.

duction is visible in a number of poetic works. For instance, in *Saint a merthyron cred* (*Creed of Saints and Martyrs*), the tri-partite division of the world is attested in a curiously multilingual section, where the Welsh poem switches into Latin to say: ‘tres partes diuicia: | Ascia, Affrica, Europa’ ([...] divided into three parts | Asia, Africa, Europe’).³⁶ The same tripartite division of the world is present also in *Kanu y byt mawr* (*Greater Song of the World*) which contains the lines: ‘Yn tri yt rannat | yn amgen pwyllat: | vn yw yr Asia, | deu yw yr Affrica, | tri yw Europa’ (‘Into three the Earth was divided | according to a different scheme: | one, Asia | two, Africa, | three, Europe’).³⁷ Whilst these instances are not necessarily due to the influence of *Delw y byd*, they attest to the presence of the worldview it carries in medieval Wales.³⁸

The existence of two independent Welsh translations of *Imago mundi*, and a Welsh manuscript containing yet another version of the Latin text, shows that there was interest in and an awareness of medieval geographical lore of the *map-pae mundi* tradition in Wales at the time. The minimal changes the text underwent in the process of translation show also that Wales, or at least the translators, subscribed to this geographical tradition. Yet it is also these changes that sometimes show Welsh knowledge (or show up the lack of such) of places and peoples. Of the few names that are translated, the most remarkable is, perhaps, *gwlat y blammonyeit* (‘land of Blammonyeit’) for Ethiopia.³⁹ The *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* defines *blowmon* as ‘Ethiopian’, or ‘black man’, and gives the earliest attestations as c. 1400, occurring in the *Proffwydolyaeth Sibli Doeth*,

³⁶ My translation; see *Blodeugerdd Barddas*, ed. by Haycock, p. 251 (on the Latin, see pp. 248–49). This instance of code-switching in a medieval Welsh literary context is not unique. For discussions of the Welsh term for Asia, see *Legendary Poems*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, pp. 418–19; *Prophecies from the Book of Taliesin*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, p. 179 n. 4; *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym*, ed. by Perry, p. 452.

³⁷ *Legendary Poems*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, p. 518. The other scheme implied here is the zonal division of the world, which is referred to earlier on in the poem; for a discussion of the zonal division of the world in the poem and references to further instances in medieval Welsh poetry, see *Legendary Poems*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, p. 523. Zonal maps are, in addition to the T-O maps, a standard form of representation of the world in the medieval period. The theory of the five zones itself, however, does not originate in the Middle Ages and goes as far back as Strabo, *Geographica*, II. 2. 2–3. 3 and II. 5. 3–5, ed. by Sterrett and trans. by Jones, I, 360–75 and 424–33.

³⁸ Other examples from a later period, include Dafydd y Coed, ‘Awdl i Dduw’, ll. 69–71; see *Gwaith Dafydd y Coed*, ed. by Daniel, pp. 35, 38; also Carr, ‘Inside the Tent’, p. 33.

³⁹ RB-A, fol. 243^v, col. 979, l. 15; cf. *Imago mundi*, ed. by Flint, p. 52.

in the RB.⁴⁰ The identification of Ethiopia as the 'land of the Blomonyeit' in another RB text explains why this term was used for it in the RB-A version of *Delw y byd*. We can assume that in this context *blammonyeit* was used as a term specifically designating Ethiopians. The Welsh term was borrowed from the Middle English one, *bleomen*, which occurs, for example, in Layamon's *Brut* (1185×1216) in the description of the emperor's army: *of Ethiopie he brohte tha bleomen* ('from Ethiopia he brought the Bleomen, my translation') (l. 12666).⁴¹ The translation of the term in *Delw y byd* suggests active engagement with the text, and the importation of relevant knowledge gained from other sources to its interpretation.

Other evidence of active engagement with the text includes the alteration of word endings in place-names and names of peoples. While sometimes the Latin case-ending is retained, as in *Yponensis* and *Stipensis*, a Welsh ending is substituted in some cases (but always consistently for an individual term).⁴² The former can be taken to indicate that the translators were unsure of the original place-name, and were therefore unwilling to make any changes to it. Change most commonly is introduced in the plural endings of the names of peoples or species, where the Welsh plural ending *-(i)eit* is applied.⁴³ One interesting and illustrative example is in the account of the peoples inhabiting Mesopotamia: 'Yno y mae kenedloed llawer ereill: moabite, Amonite, Sarassinyeit, Ydimey, Madianite, a llawer o ereill' ('There are many other peoples: Moabites, Ammonites, Saracens, Edemites, Madianites, and many others').⁴⁴ Compare the original Latin: 'In ea sunt gentes multe: Moabite, Ammonite, Idumei, Sarraceni, Madianite et aliae multe' ('In it are many peoples: Moabites, Ammonites, Edemites, Saracens, Madianites, and many others').⁴⁵ This is one of two instances in this text where Saracens stand out in a list of other peoples as the only name where a Welsh end-

⁴⁰ 'Odyno hi aeth hyt yn ethyopia gwlat y blewmonyeit'; see RB-B, fol. 139^r, col. 571a, ll. 11–12. The same phrase occurs in the WB version of *Proffwydoliaeth*, fol. 12^r, l. 34; *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, ed. by Thomas and others, s.v. *blowmon*. For more on this text, see R. W. Evans, 'Proffwydoliaeth Sibli Ddoeth' and R. W. Evans, 'Ystorya Addaf'; see also Haycock, 'Sy abl fodd, Sibli fain'.

⁴¹ Layamon, *Brut*, ed. by Brook and Leslie, II, 662–63; for the date, see *Layamon's Brut*, ed. by Le Saux, pp. 2–10; for more, see Parry-Williams, *The English Element in Welsh*, p. 51, and P. Russell, 'Agent Suffixes', p. 36.

⁴² RB-A, fol. 246^r, col. 988, ll. 34, 35.

⁴³ For more on the plural ending, see D. S. Evans, *Grammar*, p. 28.

⁴⁴ RB-A, fol. 244^v, col. 983, ll. 4–7; my translation.

⁴⁵ CCCC, MS 66, p. 11 col. 1; my translation.

ing is introduced.⁴⁶ All the other peoples retain their Latin endings in the Welsh translation, and only for Saracens is the native Welsh ending substituted for the Latin one. The significance of this is that this was one word that the translator or copyist recognized and knew the Welsh equivalent. *Sarassinyeit*, in various spellings, is attested in a large number of medieval Welsh texts, including *Brut y Tywysogion* (the Welsh chronicles), and the Charlemagne Cycle.⁴⁷ Saracens, in other words, were a people familiar by name. On the other hand, Moabites, for instance, appear not to have been so familiar. The list thus juxtaposes contemporary and biblical peoples, placing Saracens (familiar probably primarily as the opponents of the crusaders) in a biblical context. This juxtaposition is either a result or a factor contributing to the merging of chronologically distinct peoples, and the synchronization of historical and contemporary discourse, the effects of which can be observed in several contemporary sources.⁴⁸ While we consider the importance of translations primarily as sources of information, which tells us what data was available to contemporaries, they can also inform us, as in this case, of the modes of thinking which were transmitted across linguistic and cultural borders. In this case, the inclusion of the contemporary Saracens in a list of biblical peoples can be read as a feature of synchronizing medieval historico-geographical thought, which we can also observe subsequently in native Welsh texts.⁴⁹ The function and perhaps the aim of the translation appears to be the transmission of knowledge, and the minimal intervention suggests that this was, for *Delw y byd*, done without the re-evaluation of facts, following the original as closely as possible, while also at the same time aiming to make it as clear as possible to its new audience, interpreting, as well as translating.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ With the spelling *sarrascinyeit*; RB-A, fol. 245^v, col. 984, ll. 3–9; compare *Imago mundi*, CCCC, MS 66, p. 11 col. 2–p. 12 col. 1, where the list is: *sarraceni*, *agarreni*, *bismaelite*, *nabatheï*.

⁴⁷ All of these also occur in the RB. For other instances of the use of the terms for Saracens, see also *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, pp. 1–6, 9, 10, 12, 15. For more on the chronicles and the Charlemagne Cycle, see below, Chapters 2 and 3, respectively.

⁴⁸ See Chapter 2 below for further discussion.

⁴⁹ See Chapter 2.

⁵⁰ A similar phenomenon can be observed in the transformations undergone by the etymological passages in the text; see Petrovskaia, 'La disparition'. It may be fruitful to contrast this translation with the French *Image du monde*, which uses a translation of *Imago mundi* to create a new encyclopedia with its own discourse; Connochie-Bourgne, 'Pourquoi et comment réécrire une encyclopédie?'.

The existence of at least two independent translations of *Imago mundi* into Welsh demonstrates that the standard medieval perception of the world, familiar to us from the visual examples of the *mappae mundi*, was known in thirteenth-century Wales. There are also certain overlaps in the use of terminology and conceptual parallels with other Welsh texts, such as *Brut y Tywysogion* and the *Proffwydolyaeth*. How much *Delw y byd* itself influenced other literary production in Wales remains to be seen. Echoes of the same mainstream geographical tradition, however, are attested in other texts in Welsh and Latin circulating in Wales at the time.

The standard medieval division of the world into three parts, Asia, Europe, and Africa, not only constitutes one of the most striking visual features of *mappae mundi* but is also a staple in medieval literary texts.⁵¹ In a Welsh context it occurs in the poetry already referred to. In a semi-Welsh context, the tripartite division of the world is also a topos with Gerald of Wales. The tribute paid by *De principis instructione* to this tripartite imagery is in the discussion of the three regions under the three patriarchs:

Horum itaque unus principatum in Asia tenuit, qui principatu vel praesulatu in Antiochia praefuit; alius in Africa primatum habuit, qui in Alexandria pontificatum tenuit; tertius in Europa principabatur, qui Romani apicis infula decorabatur.⁵²

One of these [*sc.* patriarchs] held rule in Asia, who had rule or bishopric in Antioch; another had rule as primate in Africa, who held pontificate in Alexandria; the third ruled in Europe, who was decorated with the cap and mitre of Rome. (my translation)

⁵¹ For instance, in Thomas of Kent's Anglo-Norman *Alexander, Roman de toute chevalerie*, ed. by Foster and Short, ll. 34–36: 'En trois la departirent [...] | L'une est Aufrike, Asye est la seconde, | Europe est la tierce' ('In three [parts] they separated it | One is Africa, Asia is the second | Europe is the third'; my translation); another reference to the tri-partite division of the world, in a *mappa mundi* in Alexander's tent is in Lambert li Tors and Alexandre de Bernay, *Li Romans d'Alixandre*, ed. by Michelant, p. 55. In Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis* (c. 1181), a depiction of the world appears on Darius's tomb (7. 393–420), ed. by Colker, pp. 190–92. For the date of this text see *The Alexandreis of Walter of Châtillon*, trans. by Townsend, p. xv. A *mappa mundi*-type world map is also referred to in a poem describing the bedchamber of Countess Adela; the poem is by Baudry de Bourgueil; see Bartolomucci, 'Il registro epico', p. 77; discussed in Kedar, 'Reflections on Maps', pp. 181–83.

⁵² Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, I. 19, ed. by Warner, p. 107. For a similar tripartite division of the world, see *Historia Brittonum*, ed. by Dumville, p. 71.

One of the implications of this passage is that Gerald follows the standard medieval geographical T-O-type division of the world into Europe, Asia, and Africa. The second is that in Gerald's perception, the Christian world is not confined to Europe, but rather embraces the entirety of the known world. The tripartite world is a staple of medieval geographical representation, and Gerald follows the convention. He also, as will be shown below, employs the framework of *translatio* to articulate his views and judgment of contemporary events. In his writings, the Westward progression of *translatio*, culminating in his time, and from his point of view, with the Angevin empire, becomes ambiguous, combining the beneficial natural historical progression West with a negative result of distancing contemporary empires geographically, chronologically, and spiritually, from the Holy Land.

Gerald of Wales, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and the 'translatio imperii'

The two works by Gerald of Wales that interest us are the *Itinerarium Kambriae* and *De principis instructione*.⁵³ *Itinerarium Kambriae* is a valuable source of information for the preaching of the Third Crusade in Wales in 1188, Gerald's engagement with it, and his attitude to the Crusades. Meanwhile, *De principis instructione*, completed c. 1217 is, as argued below, an articulation of the *translatio* concept.⁵⁴ It consists of three Books (termed *Distinctiones*). Book I consists of twenty-one chapters dealing with the positive qualities of a prince, containing multiple *exempla* from biblical and classical history.⁵⁵ Book II is significantly shorter, but split into thirty-one chapters, which are concerned with affairs of Henry's reign, including Thomas Beckett's murder, the call for a crusade, papal and royal letters, and descriptions of members of the Angevin family. Book III also contains thirty-one chapters and continues the themes begun in Book II, dealing with Henry's quarrels with his sons, letters exchanged between Emperor Frederick and Saladin (c. 1138–93), the emperor's crusade, and Henry's crimes and death. The last two Books are darker in tone and more

⁵³ Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, ed. by Dimock, pp. 1–152 (trans. by Thorpe, pp. 63–209). For more on Gerald, see Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 30; Pryce, 'Gerald's Journey', p. 19; *Speculum Duorum*, ed. by Lefèvre and Huygens and trans. by Dawson, p. xxv, for Gerald's family tree.

⁵⁴ Introduction to *De principis instructione*, ed. by Warner, p. xv.

⁵⁵ An *exemplum* is a moral tale, designed to instruct the audience in proper behaviour, by providing an 'example' of either proper behaviour or of misbehaviour; it was usually used in sermons. For more on medieval *exempla*, see Palmer, 'Exempla', and Tubach, *Index Exemplorum*.

critical of the Angevins than Book I. The primary purpose of the narrative seems to have shifted from a treatise on the proper behaviour of a prince with positive *exempla* towards a diatribe against the crimes of his own contemporaries and the blow dealt in Gerald's view to the Christian world by Saladin's taking of Jerusalem. It could be argued that Gerald's attitude to the Angevins might reflect his consciousness of the (geographical and chronological) distance separating their contemporary empire from the biblical Holy Land, and even more so from the Earthly Paradise.⁵⁶ That it is the culmination of the *translatio* process does not necessarily mean that it had inherited the positive aspects of past empires. Whether the East-West transmission of empire in this case and its inheritance by Henry II could not be seen as a progression continuing from the Fall of Man is a question worth considering.

Further to his interest in the Holy Land and crusading, discussed below, Gerald appears to have had an interest in cartography and geography.⁵⁷ It is extremely likely that Gerald had encountered at least some simple T-O diagrams in, for example, manuscripts of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* and *De natura rerum*.⁵⁸ Moreover, as already mentioned, it has been demonstrated by O'Loughlin that the map of Britain and Ireland in Dublin, NLI, MS 700 (s. xiii), fol. 48^r (see Plate 4) associated with Gerald and possibly produced under his supervision, is based on depictions of these islands in T-O maps, suggesting cognizance of their position within that scheme of the world.⁵⁹ Indeed, an awareness of their marginality is also in evidence, as we have seen in the quotation at the start of this book, in Gerald's writings. Gerald's general reliance on the T-O scheme is also supported by his division of the world into Asia, Africa, and Europe (mentioned above), a staple of T-O geography and commonplace in the Middle Ages.⁶⁰

To summarize, the key issues to be kept in mind when dealing with references to the Orient in Gerald's works, and in *De principis instructione* in particular, include his interest in the historical development of the world, the affairs of

⁵⁶ For marginality of Britain in the medieval geographical outlook, see above, pp. xxi, 4–5.

⁵⁷ See O'Loughlin, 'An Early Thirteenth-Century Map'.

⁵⁸ O'Loughlin, 'An Early Thirteenth-Century Map', p. 36 n. 42, with reference to Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, pp. 141 and 180.

⁵⁹ O'Loughlin, 'An Early Thirteenth-Century Map', pp. 31–32.

⁶⁰ Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, I. 19, ed. by Warner, p. 107. Such a division also occurs, for example, in the Middle English *Gests of Alexander*, and, in a Welsh milieu, in *Kanu y byt mawr*; *The Gests of King Alexander of Macedon*, ed. by Magoun, p. 191; for a discussion of *Kanu y byt mawr* see above, p. 12.

the Holy Land, and his dislike of Henry and of the Angevins in general, which stems from his frustrated ambition and his mixed feelings about his own background, all of which contribute to and interact with a negative view of Britain as a marginal place, a western island, homeland of tyrants, far from the *umbilicus mundi* and the grace of Jerusalem.⁶¹ The idea of the remoteness of Britain may also include a sense of a distance from the Earthly Paradise, conventionally located in the Easternmost point of the world on *mappae mundi* (see Figure 2, and Plates 1 and 2). This could in that case be interpreted as a continuation of the Fall from Grace. Although the representation of Britain as lying on the edge of the world appears often in works from the British Isles and Ireland, in Gerald's work it attains new heights, as his obsession with the crusades and his intense dislike of Henry begin to translate into a yearning for a glorious past, the culture which he locates in the historical and the biblical Orient. This brings us to the theme of *translatio studii et imperii*, with its historical and political connotations of the transmission of empire from East to West, past to present. Gerald's interest in the crusading endeavour and his encouragement of Henry's support of the crusades, brings in also the issue of the contemporary Orient, geographically coterminous with the biblical Orient. There is an interesting dichotomy in Gerald's writings, of the westward movement of *translatio* (from the biblical and historical Orient) and the eastward movement of the crusades (towards the contemporary Orient).

The historico-geographical framework of the *translatio imperii*, anchored as we have seen in the medieval geographical representations of the world, is a key feature of *De principis instructione*.⁶² The work as a whole shows a distinct westward movement of narrative focus, echoing the direction of *translatio*. Book I focuses primarily on biblical and classical history, while Books II and III focus on current affairs and on the reign, and what Gerald sees as the wrongdoings of Henry II.⁶³ *Occidens*, the Latin term for 'West', does not occur at all in Book I, featuring only in Books II and III, often alongside the term *oriens*.⁶⁴ It can be

⁶¹ Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, III. 27, ed. by Warner, p. 303. Gerald distinguished between tyrants and praiseworthy princes; see the beginning of his chapter on benign rulers, I. 28 (p. 76).

⁶² See Introduction, above, p. xxviii–xxxi.

⁶³ Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, pp. 71 and 79.

⁶⁴ The first instance of *occidens* and *oriens* occurring in the same sentence comes in Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, II. 21, ed. by Warner, p. 199. Thereafter, such instances become more frequent: II. 22 (p. 200), II. 24 (p. 203), II. 31 (p. 221), III. 5 (p. 239), III. 27 (p. 303).

argued that this is a consequence of Gerald's choice of subject and of his shift in focus from historical and legendary matters to current affairs.⁶⁵ Yet an argument can also be made for intentionality, as the sequences Gerald gives almost invariably follow the East-West direction, and succession, of *translatio*. Gerald presents historical *exempla* from Jewish, Greek, Roman, and Carolingian history, usually in that order. Alexander the Great, Hannibal, Caesar, Augustus, Pippin, and Charlemagne form one of the sequences he creates to illustrate the good qualities of a prince, such as his patronage of scholarship and writing.⁶⁶ A similar list, which includes Judas Maccabeus, Julius Caesar, and Arthur (and slightly earlier on in the text, a mention of Agamemnon), occurs in the *Vita Griffini filii Conani* (1137×1148), a Welsh royal biography first composed in Latin and subsequently translated into Welsh.⁶⁷ In this text, Gruffudd ap Cynan, king of Gwynedd (1095–1137), is seen as the culmination of the *translatio* sequence, as he is compared to each of these rulers in turn, all of whom lost power through betrayal.⁶⁸ An unambiguous example of the use of *translatio* in a native Welsh context (albeit in Latin), the *Vita* provides evidence that *translatio* sequences were a part of the medieval Welsh perception of history. A copy of the Welsh version of the *Vita Griffini filii Conani*, the *Historia*

⁶⁵ Note that in Book I Gerald occasionally refers back to his present, but never for any significant length of time; see for example, I. 7 (pp. 24–25) and I. 14 (pp. 50–51).

⁶⁶ Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, Praefatio Prima (pp. 7, 8), I. 1 (p. 32), etc. It could be argued that the importance Gerald ascribes to the literacy of rulers and their patronage of the arts here is already a disapproving nod in Henry's direction from a writer disappointed in him as a patron. A major source of his bitterness is Gerald's dissatisfaction with the rewards offered to him in royal service in which he was engaged from 1184 until 1194; Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 59; Pryce, 'Gerald's Journey', pp. 20, 32. This frustration features prominently in *De principis instructione*; Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 22. Gerald's period of royal service made him an eyewitness to the conquest of Ireland, which he described in his *Expugnatio Hibernicae*, and to the final period of Henry's life; Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernicae*, ed. by Dimock, pp. 205–411; for a description of Henry's end, see *De principis instructione*, II. 14 (pp. 261–62). His dissatisfaction with Henry is often voiced, at least in *De principis instructione*, in terms of criticism for Henry's reluctance to participate in the crusades; see Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, pp. 68–73, 75 and discussion below, pp. 23–24.

⁶⁷ *A Medieval Prince*, ed. and trans. by Evans, pp. 32–33, 64; see also *Vita Griffini*, 14. 10–18, ed. and trans. by Russell, pp. 38, 46–47, 64–67. Similar lists are present in the *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* (*Triads of the Island of Britain*) 47–52, *TYP*², pp. 122–39, and comparisons of Welsh rulers with historical or legendary figures appear in the poetry of Prydydd y Moch and other Gogynfeirdd poets; *TYP*², p. 123, Carr, 'Inside the Tent', pp. 31–32.

⁶⁸ For more on Gruffudd ap Cynan, see the essays in Maund, ed., *Gruffudd ap Cynan*, and Turvey, *Welsh Princes*, pp. 16, 69, 72, 74, 103–04, 110, 140.

Gruffudd ap Kynan, appears in Peniarth 17 alongside *Delw y byd*. Whilst this does not mean that the texts were produced in the same cultural milieu or that the geographical text had influenced the production of the other, it is nevertheless probable that their association in the manuscript context is not accidental. The close interrelation between history and geography in medieval thought makes coincidence unlikely. Indeed, one could argue that the appearance of the *translatio* theme in a biography which in at least one instance is to be found associated with a geographical treatise, is a sign that it was at least transmitted in a cultural milieu influenced by the historico-geographical modes of thought outlined in the first part of this chapter. The correspondence of the *translatio* themes found in the *Historia Gruffudd* with those in Gerald's *De principis instructione* also illustrates the relevance of the latter work to understanding medieval Welsh attitudes to geography and history, despite the ambiguities of its author's cultural and linguistic affiliations. The combined elements observed above in the activity of the Welsh translators of *Imago mundi*: maintaining the informational content of the text to the best of their ability whilst at the same time engaging with it by providing equivalents and translations of recognized names and concepts, supports this evidence in demonstrating Welsh engagement with contemporaneous geographical ideas. They were aware of, accepted, and used these contemporary concepts and theories.

The consequence of *De principis instructione*'s tendency towards a chronological progression from past to present being accompanied by a geographical progression from Orient to Occident is that the Orient is seen in three ways, delineating precisely the three Orients already mentioned: a historical, a biblical, and a contemporary Orient. The historical Orient is the origin of Western culture as known to Gerald, in political terms. It is represented by figures such as Alexander the Great, Caesar, and Augustus. Symbolic political unities such as Troy and the Roman Empire are seen as examples from history (history here being the past of one's own culture). The biblical Orient is the origin in the religious sense, represented by the biblical Holy Land. The Orient that is the source of dangers is the contemporary Orient. The representation of this third Orient appears to relate to the idea that history has moved on, and an Orient has remained, often as the past holding back the future, or as the past repeating itself until rescued by Western Christian intervention.⁶⁹ The historical and biblical Orients are most familiar to us from their synchronic visual represen-

⁶⁹ In terms of the latter, one thinks in particular of Gerald's attitude to the contemporary events in the Holy Land; see, for example, Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, II. 31, ed. by Warner, p. 221.

tation in the *mappa mundi* tradition. There, they are represented by the individual features associated with them, such as the wall behind which Alexander enclosed Gog and Magog, or the Tower of Babel, to give but two examples (see Plate 2 and detail on Plate 3).

Gerald uses this tradition in his representation of the historical progression of *translatio*. For him, the process culminates in Britain.⁷⁰ In *De principis instructione* Britain is on the edge of the world. This is best illustrated in the passage relating to the coming of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, quoted at the beginning of this book.⁷¹ Britain is perceived as a remote region of the West. Meanwhile, *orientalis Asia* is a geographical denominator designating the region of Asia, which as *mappae mundi* and *Delw y byd* show, is that region of the world which lies in the Orient. This reference also serves to reinforce the literary topos of journeying from one end of the Earth to another. The point is to stress the distance. This is why Britain is the remotest West (which should be Ireland in Gerald's perception) and the Holy Land is far off in the Orient.⁷²

The distance and opposition between the Orient and the British Occident are also underlined in the two instances of the use of *occidens* and *oriens* in conjunction where Gerald operates an inversion of the Occidental point of view. Both instances concern Gerald's quotation of Porphyry.⁷³ In the first instance, he writes:

Unde et illud Porphirii orientalis haeretici a Gilda introductum in Historia sua de Britonum excidio et hic apponendum. 'Britannia', inquit, 'occidentalis insula fertilis est tyrannorum patria.'⁷⁴

Thus, the comment of Porphyrius, the eastern heretic, introduced by Gildas in his History of the destruction of Britain must be appended here, too. 'Britain', he says, 'a Western island, is the fertile homeland of tyrants.' (my translation)

Here, Gerald's audience are allowed a view of themselves from the Oriental perspective. Gerald strengthens his case against Henry and his offspring by not

⁷⁰ It should be noted that *translatio* was flexible, adapted to different environments, and altered in most historical discourses to fit their own case and often, where relevant, the local Trojan origin legend; for references to medieval European origin legends, see below, p. 30 n. 117; for a further bibliography, see Beaune, 'L'utilisation politique', p. 331 n. 1.

⁷¹ Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, II. 24, ed. by Warner, p. 203.

⁷² See above, p. 17, and O'Loughlin, 'An Early Thirteenth-Century Map', for Gerald's view of the relative geography of Britain and Ireland.

⁷³ For more on Porphyry, see Porphyry, *Introduction*, trans. by Barnes, pp. x–xii.

⁷⁴ Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, I. 17, ed. by Warner, p. 76.

only presenting an authority, but making that authority an Oriental one, who is being quoted by an established Western authority (Gildas). While reproducing Gildas's quotation of Porphyry on the subject of Britain, Gerald is far less vicious about him than Gildas was.⁷⁵ There is a second reference to Porphyry in *De principis instructione*, where he is termed rather *orientalis historicus*.⁷⁶ While *historicus* might be a scribal error for *haereticus*, the term used for Porphyry in the first instance, it may also be an intentional alteration, corresponding to Gerald's use of Porphyry as an authority.⁷⁷ His purpose in reproducing Gildas's Porphyry quotation is not to comment on Porphyry's heresy but to present his readers with an authority that calls Britain the land of tyrants, and thus supports his own representation of Henry. For him, the unpleasant comments of Gildas on Porphyry are irrelevant. Note that in the second instance of the quotation, Gerald dispenses with the reference to Gildas. The effectiveness of the rhetoric no longer needs his extra support (or else it is assumed that the reader will remember the previous instance).

If one postulates that Gerald saw the world in the terms outlined by the *mappae mundi* framework, it becomes clear why the opinion of Porphyry, the 'mad dog' of Gildas, becomes for him not just that of an *orientalis haereticus*, but even *orientalis historicus*, and why the opinion of this same oriental on the subject of Britain might seem of interest to him. The *orientalis historicus* is a representative, within this framework, of the viewpoint of the 'civilized' people geographically closer to the centre of the world, and in temporal terms also closer to the historical and biblical Orients. His position in relation to the 'western island'-based Gerald and Gerald's audience, is one of authority based on both geographical and temporal considerations, as well as on being quoted by the established authority, Gildas. To produce an oriental voice here is to establish the place of Gerald and his audience as the inhabitants of both the farthest Occident and the land of the historic culmination of the progression of *translatio studii et imperii*, but perhaps distanced too far through that progression from the spiritually significant centre of the world.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ *De excidio Britanniae*, IV. 3–4, ed. and trans. by Winterbottom, pp. 17, 90, where Porphyry is called 'the "mad dog" of the east who vents his fury on the church'.

⁷⁶ Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, III. 27, ed. by Warner, p. 303.

⁷⁷ Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, I. 17, ed. by Warner, p. 76.

⁷⁸ For the theory of use of distant places in literature for self-identification by author and audience, see Kelly, *The Hero's Place*, p. 21.

A similar theme is visible in the passage relating to John's failures in Ireland and criticism of Henry II for abandoning the crusade. A re-direction of Henry's attention from the East to the West is presented in a negative way. This can be argued to be the logical culmination of the *translatio studii et imperii*, whereby the biblical Orient, left behind by the westward movement, needs to be resurrected and rescued from the contemporary Orient by a western empire. It could be argued that the negative representation of Henry's Angevin empire, despite its position at the culmination of the *translatio* process, harks back to the notion of geographical and chronological distance. The current heirs of empire through the *translatio* process have lost at this stage their connection to the historical and biblical Orient, and it is this loss that turns the westward movement into a negative and an eastern movement into a positive. The latter, in this scheme, would reinforce the connection to the biblical Orient and the religious centre of the world, and thus recover the empire from its degeneration. In his account of Henry sending John to Ireland in *De principis instructione* Gerald revises his positive views previously expressed in the *Topographia Hibernica* (1188), and criticizes the king for the very thing he used to praise him for.⁷⁹

Nec mirum; qui ad tantam Christi vocationem et in ipsa quoque tanti praeconis absentia filium, quem pro se saltem versus orientem mittere debuerat et in Saracenos, versus occidentem quae sunt mundi quaerentem, non quae Christi Jesu, infausto misit omine et in Christianos.⁸⁰

It is not surprising that he [Henry] in view of such a calling of Christ and in the very absence of such a herald too, with ill omens sent his son, whom he should have sent to the east against the Saracens, to the west against Christians to seek the things of the world and not those of Jesus Christ. (my translation)

Instead of sending John to fight Saracens in the Orient, Henry is sending him 'with ill omens' to fight Christians in Ireland. This represents no longer the beneficial movement of *translatio*, but an abandonment of the sacred biblical past of the Orient to a non-Christian present. The Orient here is at the same time the Holy Land, and something left behind, that is the contemporary

⁷⁹ Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Hibernica*, III. 48, ed. by Dimock, pp. 190–93 (trans. by O'Meara, pp. 124–25); Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, pp. 54, 70 (on Gerald and Ireland see, pp. 21, 24–25, 27, 31–40); for a recent study of the *Topographia*, see Ní Bheaglaoi, 'Two Topographies'.

⁸⁰ Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, II. 31, ed. by Warner, p. 221.

Orient, left empty by *translatio studii et imperii*. Gerald's implication appears to be that it needs to be rescued and redeemed through Western intervention. Thus it seems that in order to understand Gerald's attitude to the crusading movement, and even to Henry II, it is beneficial to put his thinking in terms of the three Orients and contextualize it with reference to *translatio imperii*.

Similarly, in terms of the *translatio* theory can be understood the references to Spain (a geographical region crucial to almost any discussion of medieval attitudes to the Orient and Islam). Spain is problematic in that its Western location in geographical terms is difficult to reconcile with the Oriental connotations of its population and religion at the time, especially as represented in medieval writing. For instance, in Gerald's writings it fits into the *translatio* theme as part of the contemporary Orient. It features in *De principis instructione* alongside oriental Asia in the context of an eulogy of Henry II:

Quam innaturaliter et illaudabiliter conjurata in ventrem viscera tam orientales Asiae quam etiam Hispaniae victorias vestras, quas occidentalibus continuare et fidem Christi egregie dilatare animoque excelso jam conceperas, tam pravo et iniquo consilio, totique fidelium orbi damnosissimo, distulerint!⁸¹

How the entrails, as it were, most unnaturally and shamefully having conspired against the belly in a plan that was evil, unjust, and most damaging to the whole Christian world, postponed your eastern victories in Asia and in Spain (which you had already decided in your noble mind to add to those of the West and so to extend in a signal way the Faith of Christ).⁸²

This passage belongs to a lengthy extract from the *Topographia Hibernica*.⁸³ The implication is that the geographical entities named have something in common. Indeed, in Gerald's world, both in Asia and in Spain the primary antagonists of the Christians were Saracens. There is an appreciably visible criticism of Henry in this passage for the lack of attention paid to the Orient.⁸⁴ The

⁸¹ Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, II. 21, ed. by Warner, p. 199; *Topographia Hibernica*, III. 48, ed. by Dimock, p. 190.

⁸² Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Hibernica*, trans. by O'Meara, p. 124. An alternative reading would be: 'Just as unnaturally and unpraiseworthy the innards conspire in the stomach, so were put off your victories in the eastern Asia and also in Spain, which you had already planned in magnificent exaltation of the spirit to continue on the western ones and exceptionally extend the faith of Christ' (my translation).

⁸³ Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, II. 21, ed. by Warner, pp. 198–200, is a quotation from *Topographia Hibernica*, III. 48, ed. by Dimock, p. 190; see also p. xlix for the dating.

⁸⁴ Compare this with the passage on Henry's Irish campaign discussed above.

mention of Spain alongside Asia, and not as part of the *occidens*, supports the suggestion that it is associated with the *oriens* and is in line with the rest of *De principis instructione*. It appears that, unlike his attitude to Henry and the Angevins, Gerald's geographical ideas did not change between the composition of the *Topographia* and that of *De principis instructione*.⁸⁵ While at this point in the text the association between Spain and Asia is made explicit, elsewhere it is only implicit, as Gerald includes references to battles with the Saracens in Spain and to the Moorish kingdoms.⁸⁶ He also uses the same terminology for the inhabitants of Spain as he does for the Saracens in the Holy Land.⁸⁷

Gerald's views appear to be in harmony with the general attitude to the Moors that was encouraged at the time: crusades were called to Spain and the Holy Land in largely similar terms, and similar rhetoric was used to describe them.⁸⁸ Considering that Gerald had a close-hand experience with crusading rhetoric himself in the preaching of the Third Crusade, it seems unlikely that his use of the same terminology for the 'Saracens' in Spain as for those in the Holy Land were the result of either coincidence or ignorance. In this respect, more than in anything else, Gerald seems to be showing himself to be a product of the age.⁸⁹

Since the purpose of the present chapter is to use Gerald's and Geoffrey's works to build the theoretical framework of the three Orient's based partly on the analysis of these author's use of *translatio imperii*, it is interesting to note that the term *orientali imperio* occurs twice in Gerald's *De principis instructione*. First it occurs in relation to Mark Anthony, where it is used to designate the eastern part of the Roman Empire (historical Orient), and the second time in the context of the spread of the Islamic faith in the East:

Demum vero Arabes ei adhaerentes regnum Persidis infestare coeperunt, ac demum Orientalis imperii fines usque Alexandriam super Heraclium invadere.

⁸⁵ Note that some lines above Henry is called the 'Western Alexander', *De principis instructione*, II. 21, ed. by Warner, p. 199.

⁸⁶ For instance, Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, I. 17, I. 20, ed. by Warner, pp. 71, 73, 125.

⁸⁷ Note, however, that Gerald uses the word *Hispania* to designate both the Christian lands of Spain and its southern regions; Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, I. 17, ed. by Warner, pp. 71, 73, I. 18 (pp. 81, 85, 98, 99), I. 20 (pp. 125, 138), II. 1 (pp. 157, 158), II. 2 (p. 159), II. 21 (p. 199), II. 30 (pp. 217, 218), III. 25 (p. 291), III. 27 (p. 299), III. 30 (p. 317).

⁸⁸ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, pp. xxix, 6–7.

⁸⁹ For Gerald's involvement in crusade preaching and for the uniformity of related discourse, see below, pp. 57–70.

Finally however the Arabs who followed him [= Muhammad] began to harass the kingdom of the Persians and to invade the borders of the Eastern Empire as far as Alexandria on Heraclium.⁹⁰

In this instance, Gerald is relating the spread of what later in his narrative becomes the enemy. It can be interpreted as the rise of the contemporary Orient in the wake of the westward movement of *translatio*.

The subject of oriental empire, specifically in the context of *translatio*, brings us to the important issue of the Trojan origin legend, and the related issue of the representation of the Greeks. Presented in some of the most popular works of historical writing in the medieval period, the Trojan legend was well known to writers such as Gerald and formed their cultural background.⁹¹ Any discussion of Troy in this setting has to address the *Historia regum Britanniae* and its connection to the *De excidio Troiae historia* of Dares Phrygius.⁹² Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum* appears to have been written at or near Oxford in the 1130s and completed by c. 1138 or 1139.⁹³ The importance of this text for the study of medieval Welsh perceptions of the Orient lies in its popularity in Wales and its influence on the development of Welsh literature.⁹⁴ It circulated in Wales in both Latin and Welsh, into which it was translated at least thrice, probably by the end of the twelfth century, as *Brut y Brenhinedd*. The

⁹⁰ Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, i. 17, ed. by Warner, pp. 62–63, 69; my translation.

⁹¹ Gerald, who spent part of his time studying in Paris, would have had a typical education of the time, which would include the study of the classical tradition, Virgil's *Aeneid*, for example; for more on Gerald's education, see Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, pp. 11–14, 32.

⁹² Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, ed. by Reeve and trans. by Wright; for an edition of Dares Phrygius, *De excidio Troiae historia*, see *Ephemeridos beli Troiani libri sex*, ed. by Meister, and the translation by Frazer, 'The Fall of Troy. A History by Dares the Phrygien'.

⁹³ Flint, 'The *Historia Regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth', pp. 449–50. Chambers, 'The Date of Geoffrey of Monmouth's History', p. 431, gives that date as 1139 and offers the opinion that the composition of at least one section of the work is as late as 1142 (p. 436). See also Dumville, 'An Early Text of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*'. For an overview of Geoffrey and his work and a bibliography, see Jankulak, *Geoffrey of Monmouth*; J. E. Lloyd, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth'; *The Historia Regum Britanniae*, ed. by Wright, p. x; Roberts, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Welsh Historical Tradition', p. 36; Warren, *History on the Edge*, pp. 25–26; Gerould, 'King Arthur', p. 38. Tatlock, *The Legendary History of Britain*, is still a useful resource for Galfredian studies. *Arthuriana* 8. 4 (1998) was also dedicated to Geoffrey and his work.

⁹⁴ Jankulak, *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, pp. 13–21; Putter, 'Finding Time'; Gerould, 'King Arthur', pp. 33–34; R. S. Loomis, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and Arthurian Origins', pp. 19–20.

translation was, according to Daniel Huws, copied more widely than any other Welsh narrative text.⁹⁵ This echoes the fate of the Latin original and testifies to the popularity of the narrative itself, regardless of the language medium, in the Middle Ages.⁹⁶ All of the *Brut y Brenhinedd* versions follow the original relatively closely but often abbreviate.⁹⁷

De excidio Troiae, like the *Historia regum*, is preserved in around two hundred manuscripts.⁹⁸ In the surviving tradition, and specifically in the Welsh context, the text is often treated as a prologue to the Trojan origin narratives such as Geoffrey's *Historia*.⁹⁹ Indeed, its Welsh translation, made c. 1300, appears to have been made precisely to provide an introduction to *Brut y Brenhinedd*, whilst *Brut y Tywysogion* functioned as a continuation.¹⁰⁰ In all manuscripts

⁹⁵ See *MWM*, p. 12; Roberts, 'The Treatment of Personal Names', p. 274; Poppe, 'Matter of Troy', p. 261. For a discussion of these translations in the context of medieval Welsh historiography, see Roberts, 'Ystoryaeu Brenhinedd Ynys Brydeyn'. For editions, see *Brut y Brenhinedd*, ed. by Parry, and selections from the version of Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Llanstephan 1 (possibly Valle Crucis, s. xiii^{med}.) in *Brut y Brenhinedd*, ed. by Roberts (see esp. p. 59). There are three Welsh versions of the text, represented by three early manuscripts: NLW, MS Llanstephan 1 and MS Peniarth 44 (possibly Valle Crucis, s. xiii^{med}.), and 5266 (Dingestow Court manuscript) (s. xiii²). While Roberts dates MS Llanstephan 1 to the first half of the thirteenth century, Huws dates it to the middle of the same century; Roberts, 'The Treatment of Personal Names', p. 274, and *MWM*, p. 58. I follow the dating of Huws for this and other manuscripts where dating is contested. The version of MS Llanstephan 1 is also contained in Cardiff, Central Library, MS 1. 363 (s. xiv¹); Roberts, 'The Treatment of Personal Names', p. 274, and *MWM*, p. 59. Differently dated by Roberts and Huws, Peniarth 44 is by the same hand as Llanstephan 1 and BL, MS Cotton Caligula A. iii; *MWM*, p. 53. The version of manuscript 5266 has been edited as the *Brut Dingestow* version by H. Lewis. For the earliest manuscripts in which the *Brut y Brenhinedd* is preserved, see Parry, 'The Welsh Texts of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*', pp. 426–27, and *MWM*, pp. 58–60 and 62. There are also later versions of the text, such as that preserved in BL, MS Cotton Cleopatra B V i (probably Valle Crucis, s. xiv¹).

⁹⁶ Two hundred and seventeen manuscripts of *Historia regum* are currently known; Aurell, *La légende du roi Arthur*, pp. 13, 102; for the most thorough discussion of the manuscript tradition, see Crick, *The Historia Regum Britannie*. Of Wace's French-language version, based on the *Historia regum* and compiled towards the end of the thirteenth century, over two hundred and forty manuscripts are known; Burrow, 'Fourteenth-Century Arthur', p. 69.

⁹⁷ Roberts, 'The Treatment of Personal Names', p. 274.

⁹⁸ Clark, 'Authenticity, Antiquity, and Authority', p. 184.

⁹⁹ Clark, 'Authenticity, Antiquity, and Authority', p. 185; *De excidio Troiae* survives in over ten per cent of the surviving manuscript corpus of the *Historia regum* witnesses; Stallcup, 'An Arthurian Excerpt from the *Historia regum Britanniae*', p. 30 n. 16.

¹⁰⁰ Poppe, 'Matter of Troy', pp. 261 and 264; *Brut y Brenhinedd*, ed. by Roberts, p. 59. For more on *Ystoria Daret*, see Poppe, 'Matter of Troy', pp. 260–65, and Fulton, 'Troy Story'.

where *Ystoria Daret* (the Welsh translation of *De excidio Troiae*), is followed by another text, that text is *Brut y Brenhinedd*, which in turn is often followed by *Brut y Tywysogion*.¹⁰¹ Aberystwyth, NLW, MS 3055 (1586–87) is an example, containing precisely this sequence.¹⁰² The association of Dares with Geoffrey seems therefore to be a stable element of the manuscript tradition. Indeed, in the Welsh context, both appear to have been incorporated into the chronicle tradition. The present discussion does not address the Welsh translations of the *Historia regum* since the text is here examined as the source of information and *Brut y Brenhinedd* represent the use of that information.

The link between Dares and Geoffrey can be traced not only within manuscripts (as a narrative continuum) but also beyond the text itself, as a *translatio studii*, wherein Geoffrey not only continues on Dares's narrative but is also his heir in the craft of historiography. In a statement that reflects the importance of the Trojan subject matter in the medieval context, Isidore of Seville invoked Dares as the first pagan historiographer.¹⁰³ Being purportedly an eye-witness account of the Trojan war, *De excidio Troiae* was crucial in breeding medieval origin legends modelled on the Roman.¹⁰⁴ The Latin text of Dares does not appear to have been a verbatim translation of any potential Greek original, but can rather be analysed as the construct of a purely Latinate culture, and as a pseudo-link (a late construction) between the Greek tradition represented by Homer and the British tradition represented by the (Latin) text of Geoffrey.¹⁰⁵ Thus this series of texts became part of a perceived *translatio studii et imperii* process linking East and West. Geoffrey Chaucer, for example, named Geoffrey of Monmouth and Dares in the list of propagators of the Trojan legend alongside Homer and Dictys Cretensis.¹⁰⁶ We thus have evidence that already in the fourteenth century Geoffrey of Monmouth was seen as a follower of Dares, and as instrumental in providing a Trojan foundation myth for the British, linking

¹⁰¹ Parry, 'The Welsh Texts of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*', pp. 424–25; Poppe, 'Matter of Troy', p. 262.

¹⁰² *MWM*, p. 326.

¹⁰³ Clark, 'Authenticity, Antiquity, and Authority', pp. 183–84; the reference is to Isidore's *Etymologies*, I. 42. ii, ed. by Lindsay, I.

¹⁰⁴ Clark, 'Authenticity, Antiquity, and Authority', p. 184.

¹⁰⁵ Clark, 'Authenticity, Antiquity, and Authority', p. 184.

¹⁰⁶ Chaucer, *House of Fame*, ll. 1466–73, ed. by Havely; K. L. Lynch, 'East Meets West', pp. 544–45. For more on Dares and Dictys, see Merkle, 'News from the Past'. For an edition of Dictys, see *Ephemeridos beli Troiani libri sex*, ed. by Meister, and the translation by Frazer, 'A Journal of the Trojan War by Dictys of Crete'.

East and West. One of the major themes emerging in this cultural and historiographical landscape is therefore yet again, that of *translatio*.

The representation of Troy as the origin point of the *translatio imperii* is also evident in Gerald's *De principis instructione*. Heroes of the Trojan war, Priam, Hector, Achilles, Paris, and Ulysses feature as part of the description of the character of the younger Henry towards the end of Book II, in an extensive quotation from the *Topographia*.¹⁰⁷ This is primarily an invocation of the legendary past (historical Orient), rather than of an exotic and alien Orient. Although the original location of Troy was arguably Oriental from the medieval geographical perspective, the translation of their empire to Britain was via Italy.¹⁰⁸ After Geoffrey's *Historia regum*, Trojans were seen as the founders of Britain and, accordingly, as the precursors of the British in the grand scheme of the *translatio imperii*.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, when examining the relation between history and geography in the works of any writer of the period who originates in the British Isles, the subject of the Trojan origin legend almost invariably emerges. The popularity of the works of Geoffrey and Dares is attested by the richness of the surviving manuscript tradition, so this would be likely to be familiar not only to Gerald but to his audience as well.

In the British version of the Trojan origin legend, the figure of Brutus is used as an equivalent of the Roman Aeneas to produce a legend modelled on the Roman, establishing Britain as the equal of Rome in its Trojan inheritance. The importance of Rome is evident throughout the medieval tradition, and to give but one example, *Imago mundi* (and also *Delw y byd*) emphasizes it by associating it with the lion, king of all the beasts.¹¹⁰ The *translatio imperii* from the historical Orient to the contemporary Occident is thus taken via Italy to Britain (crucially, in the *Historia regum* this takes place prior to the foundation of Rome itself). The fascination with Rome and the desire to self-represent as its equals is a feature found elsewhere in British historical and literary documents, articulated through texts other than those of the Trojan legend. A Welsh example of this is *Breudwyd Maxen* (c. 1215×1217), which, as Roger Sherman Loomis points out, 'affords proof that the imaginations of the Welsh still played about

¹⁰⁷ Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, II. 9, ed. by Warner, p. 174, and *Topographia Hibernica*, II. 49, ed. by Dimock, pp. 131–32, II. 52 (p. 134), II. 53 (p. 134).

¹⁰⁸ For a discussion of the Oriental position of Troy, see below, pp. 31–32.

¹⁰⁹ See below, pp. 31, 34, 46, 133.

¹¹⁰ *Imago mundi*, ed. by Flint, p. 61; *Delw y byd*, ed. by Lewis and Diverres, p. 43.

the theme of their connections with ancient Rome'.¹¹¹ The narrative concerns the courtship and marriage of Maxen, presented as Emperor of Rome, to Elen, a Welsh princess. Having seen her in a dream and fallen in love, Maxen sends emissaries to Britain to fetch her. She, however, demands that Maxen come himself, so he sets out for Britain with his army. He subsequently stays in Britain for seven years, during which time the Romans had set up a new emperor and forbidden him to return. The rest of the tale deals with the reconquest of Rome by Maxen, with the aid of Elen's brothers, who subsequently set off to conquer other lands. Ultimately, one of the two brothers returns to Britain while the other settles down on the Continent and founds Brittany.¹¹² The main concern of this tale lies in the relation of Britain to Rome.¹¹³ Indeed, the text, with its representation of a successful British campaign against Rome, appears to be a response to Geoffrey's portrayal of Arthur's inability to conquer it.¹¹⁴

Sovereignty and empire appear to be major themes in all texts concerned with the Trojan legend, and particularly, as we have seen, in Geoffrey's influential *Historia regum*. A Norman origin legend, involving Antenor, was initiated only slightly before the publication of *Historia regum*.¹¹⁵ This origin legend appears to have been inaugurated in 1020 by Dudo of St-Quentin in his *Historia Normannorum*.¹¹⁶ Its appearance may be seen as the result of the Normans feeling the need to establish themselves on an equal footing to the Romans and the French, who all had their own Trojan origin legends. Contemporary interest in the matter of Troy is evident from the many other works of literature relating to it produced in the same period, including the *Estoire des Engleis* (1136×1137) of Geoffrei Gaimar (fl. 1136–37) and the *Ylias* (c. 1185) of Joseph of Exeter (fl. c. 1180–94).¹¹⁷ The *Roman de Brut* was based largely on the Vulgate and

¹¹¹ R. S. Loomis, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and Arthurian Origins', pp. 17–19. For the text, see *Breudwyd Maxen*, ed. by Roberts (p. lxxxv for the date); the accepted date had previously been the second half of the twelfth century/late-twelfth century; for references, see *Breudwyd Maxen*, ed. by Roberts n. 113.

¹¹² Sims-Williams, 'Some Functions of Origin Stories', p. 107.

¹¹³ *Breudwyd Maxen*, ed. by Roberts, p. xlvii–l.

¹¹⁴ For a discussion of Arthur's clash with Rome in *Historia regum*, see below, pp. 34–41.

¹¹⁵ Parsons, 'Trojan Legend', p. 257 n. 5.

¹¹⁶ Magoun, 'Brutus and English Politics', p. 179; edited in *Historia Normannorum*, ed. by Lair.

¹¹⁷ Editions are Geoffrei Gaimar, *Estoire des Engleis*, ed. by Bell and more recently ed. and trans. by Short; Joseph Iscanus, *Ylias*, ed. by Gompf and a translation by Bate. For more on Geoffrei Gaimar, see Short, 'Gaimar, Geffrei (fl. 1136–1137)', and Bell, 'Maistre Geffrei

First Variant versions of the *Historia regum* but can also be brought forth as a witness to the popularity of the Trojan legend in the twelfth century.¹¹⁸ By the end of the twelfth century the Normans were producing their own versions of classical legends: the *Roman de Thèbes*, the *Roman de Troie*, and the *Roman d'Enéas* all appear to have been composed at the court of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine.¹¹⁹ The creation of new versions of classical legends adapted to the new cultural environment is paralleled in other traditions.¹²⁰ Indeed, its omnipresence in medieval European discourse and its adaptability to various cultures is one of the most striking aspects of the Trojan legend and the theme of *translatio* inherent in it. The translation of *Historia regum* into Welsh and its incorporation into a grander historical narrative continued in *Brut y Tywysogion* is a case in point. This phenomenon demonstrates that medieval Welsh historiography subscribed to this wider Western European trend. We will return to the importance of parallel Trojan legends and *translatio* in the discussion of Arthurian imperial claims in Chapter 4.

The issue that requires further consideration here is the Eastern location of Troy. In the Orientalist framework of thinking the positive representation of Trojans which lacks 'Oriental' features is a paradox. The paradox swiftly vanishes, however, if Troy is regarded through the prism of *translatio* as the his-

Gaimar'. For more on Joseph of Exeter, nephew of Archbishop Baldwin, also known as Magister Joseph Anglicus or Joseph Cantuariensis, and on his poem, see Bate, 'Exeter, Joseph of (fl. c. 1180–1194)', Bate, 'Joseph of Exeter, Religious Poet', and Sedgwick, 'Bellum Troianum'. *Estoire des Engleis* is what survives of a longer work, which started with the Trojan origin legend of British history, a part that was lost presumably due to being eclipsed by the *Roman de Brut* completed c. 1155 by Wace (b. after 1100, d. 1174×1183); Short, 'Gaimar's Epilogue', p. 324 (Short narrows the date for the *Estoire des Engleis* from c. 1135–40 to 1136×1137). For more on Wace, see Blacker, 'Wace (b. after 1100, d. 1174×83)'. For editions and translation of Wace's text, *Roman de Brut*, ed. by Arnold and also edition and translation by Weiss. The *Ylias* is an epic on Troy in unrhymed hexameters; Short, 'Language and Literature', pp. 202, 209.

¹¹⁸ For more on Wace and the relation of his chronicle to Geoffrey's work, see Caldwell, 'Wace's *Roman de Brut*', p. 678; and Houck, *Sources of the Roman de Brut of Wace*. Caldwell also discusses, and dismisses, the possibility that the First Variant may have been produced by a Welshman, stating that any similarity with *Brut y Brenhinedd* is only evidence that the latter may have been based on it; see Caldwell, 'Wace's *Roman de Brut*', p. 682; the opinion that the First Variant version was written by a Welshman is expressed in *Historia Regum Britanniae, a Variant Version*, ed. by Hammer, p. 19.

¹¹⁹ See Sanok, 'Almoravides at Thebes', p. 278 n. 4. For editions of these texts, see *Le Roman de Thèbes*, ed. and trans. by Mora-Lebrun; *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Vielliard; *Le Roman d'Enéas*, ed. and trans. by Petit.

¹²⁰ See discussions in Beaune, 'L'utilisation politique'; and Waswo, 'Our Ancestors, the Trojans'.

torical Orient. A precedent can be found in the classical tradition. According to Harper, although 'easterness' was a defining factor in the depiction of the Trojans for the Romans, the one exception to the depiction of the Trojans as easterners was (already in the Roman context) Aeneas.¹²¹ The exception is due to the fact that Troy was the source of imperial pride for the Romans and, in their own historiographical discourse, a part of their own dynastic and cultural history.¹²² It is reasonable to assume, since the *Historia regum* and similar foundation legends were, in their design, based on the *Aeneid*, that the phenomenon observed for the Romans would also be observed for the inhabitants of the British Isles (as well as other nations with Trojan foundation legends).¹²³

While the Trojans become the historical Orient, the source of *translatio imperii*, and the progenitors of the contemporary Occident, their Greek opponents become that Orient which remains, transformed into the contemporary Orient, and their opposition to Troy is translated into opposition to the Trojans' successors Brutus in *Historia regum*, and subsequently Arthur, and, in other contemporary texts, the crusaders. The Greeks are seen as a separate unit, as attested, for instance, by Gerald of Wales:

Cuncti quoque terrarum principes tam Christiani quam Gentiles, et sicut Almanicus Frethericus et Manuel Graecus, sic Noradinus suo tempore et post Psaladinus, et sicut Asiae sic et Europae, Hispaniae videlicet, tam fidei domesticae quam infideles, eundem exeniis et nuntiis crebris honorare consueverunt et visitare.¹²⁴

And also all the princes of the earth, Christians and Gentiles alike, just as the German Frederic and Manuel the Greek, so too Nur ad-Din in his time and later Saladin, just as in Asia so in Europe, so also Spain, just as those of the native faith so also the infidels are in the habit of honouring and visiting him [= king Henry] through gifts and frequent messengers.¹²⁵

¹²¹ J. G. Harper, 'Turks as Trojans', p. 154.

¹²² J. G. Harper, 'Turks as Trojans'.

¹²³ For more on the Trojan origin legends of other nations, see Parsons, 'Trojan Legend', pp. 253, 256–57. For more on the French Trojan foundation legend in particular, and on its demise in the later Middle Ages, see E. A. R. Brown, 'Trojan Origins'. It has been argued that the use of prophecy in Geoffrey's *Historia regum* mirrors that in the *Aeneid*; see Ingledew, 'Book of Troy', pp. 666–68.

¹²⁴ Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, II. 1, ed. by Warner, pp. 157–58.

¹²⁵ My translation.

In this extract, Gerald is referring to Henry's fame abroad and his external political connections. While he divides Nur ad-Din (1118–74) and Saladin (c. 1138–93) temporally ('Noradinus suo tempore et post Psaladinus'), Frederick and Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80) are contemporaries but divided geographically. Saracens past and present, Western Christians and Eastern Christians — the division here, and with Europe and Spain, is primarily territorial. Greece and Germany are on opposite ends. Spain, towards the end of the passage, is also isolated from Europe. Both Spain and Greece are seen as different political, possibly even cultural units. Neither appear to be identified as 'Europe'.

Since the implication in *De principis instructione* is that Christians held all three of the geographical regions: the patriarch of Antioch in Asia, that of Alexandria in Africa, and that of Rome in Europe, the line dividing Gerald's Occident from his Orient seems to be different from that dividing Christians and non-Christians.¹²⁶ (It is useful to use the term 'non-Christians' here because Gerald's vocabulary varies significantly in relation to the Saracens/Turks/pagans.) While Christianity crosses the boundary of the Orient, Saracens cross that of the Occident into Spain. The Greeks seem to fall somewhere between these two extremes. On the one hand they are Christian, on the other they had an ambiguous attitude toward the Western crusaders, and one could argue that in contemporary thinking that Gerald represents, this stems from their opposition to the Western crusaders' Trojan forebears. Indeed, as in *mappae mundi*, where Greece/Byzantium is usually represented on the European side of the Europe/Asia border, and Constantinople can be found on medieval maps of Europe, in Gerald's account, the Byzantines, both geographically and morally, seem to occupy a liminal position between the Christians who went to liberate the Holy Land and the Saracens who held it.¹²⁷ Thus in this historico-

¹²⁶ Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, I. 19, ed. by Warner, p. 107.

¹²⁷ See, for example, NLI, MS 700, fol. 48^r (see Plate 4). Le Goff also classes Spain and Greece as oriental, and writes of the 'Graeco-Arab influence', *Les intellectuels*, p. 19. On Graeco-Arab influence coming to Europe through Spain, see Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West*, pp. 20–22; Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, III. 19–21, ed. by Warner, pp. 274–76. Remains the question of historical Greece and Greeks outside of the Trojan legend. In terms of the Classical world, references to Greece in *De principis instructione*, for instance, are constituted primarily of references to the philosophers. Socrates, Plato, Plutarch, Aristotle, and Pythagoras are mentioned; *De principis instructione*, Appendix to Introduction, I. 5, I. 6, I. 10, ed. by Warner, pp. lx, lxiv, 17, 20, 37, 38. These philosophers are not mentioned in a particularly oriental context; see, for instance, I. 10 (p. 38). The only potential exception is Aristotle, due to his association with Alexander the Great, a figure to the discussion of whom

geographical framework dictated by the continuity of *translatio*, the West-East dichotomy of Greece and Troy becomes reversed, with Greeks becoming (or remaining in) the contemporary Orient and Trojans becoming the historical Orient and the origin of the contemporary Occident.

For the Welsh historical tradition, the Trojan origin legend is recognized as a significant component of the Roman-Welsh relationship, since it presented the two nations as equal descendants of Troy.¹²⁸ Ernest Renan's conception of cultural identity being built on the basis of heroic legend may be applicable here.¹²⁹ Renan postulates that cultural and national identities are formed through a combination of geographical, religious, racial, and linguistic factors. However, no single factor is responsible for this process, and a final important element is the 'social capital' of the 'heroic past' and 'great men'.¹³⁰ For the present argument this means that both Geoffrey and Gerald (and, indeed, the author of *Breudwyt Maxen*) could have been counting on their audience to identify the Trojans as past heroes of their own culture, while the geographical shift is in line with the *translatio studii et imperii*. The theme of Wales and Rome is a recurring one in the *Historia regum*, for instance, and is the unifying element of the whole.¹³¹ It is, in turn, based on what we have established is the representation of Troy as the historical Orient, with its significance lying entirely in the past, as the origin of the *translatio* process.

In addition to the issue of Troy as the historical Orient and the origin of *translatio imperii*, themes within *Historia regum* which are relevant to the present enquiry also include references to the contemporary Orient. The issue of geographical references in the *Historia regum* has attracted a degree of scholarly attention, but little work has been done on the issue of Oriental names in the text and their interplay with the Trojan legend and contemporary crusading concerns.¹³² The most important of these occur in the list of Oriental allies of

we will return in the following chapter. The Greeks of the Classical world are therefore part of the historical Orient, but in themselves, being on the European side of the sea, are not, in fact, Oriental. This is underlined by their opposition to the Trojans, whose oriental ambiguity has already been mentioned.

¹²⁸ The other component according to Roberts were stories based on the Roman conquest; see Roberts, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Welsh Historical Tradition', p. 34; see also Robertson, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth', p. 45; Carr, 'Inside the Tent', p. 31.

¹²⁹ Renan, 'What is a Nation?', p. 19.

¹³⁰ Renan, 'What is a Nation?', pp. 14, 18, 19.

¹³¹ Roberts, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Welsh Historical Tradition', p. 36.

¹³² For examples of studies dedicated to place-names in Geoffrey, see Matthews, 'Where

Rome.¹³³ The enquiry is taken further here, bringing in *Brut y Brenhinedd* and other contemporary Welsh sources. For the sake of context, the list of allies is reproduced below.¹³⁴

Lucius igitur Hiberius, agnita sententia huius responsi, iussu senatus orientalibus edixit regibus ut parato exercitu secum ad subiugandum Britanniam uenirent. Conuenerunt ocus Epistrophus rex Graecorum, Mustensar rex Affricanorum, Aliphatima rex Hispaniae, Hirtacius rex Parthorum, Boccus Medorum, Sertorius Libiae, Serses rex Ituraeorum, Pandrasus rex Aegypti, Micipsa rex Babiloniae, Politetes dux Bithiniae, Theucer dux Frigiae, Euander Syriae, Echion Boetiae, Ypolitus Cretae, cum ducibus et proceribus sibi subditis [...]

Once he discovered the contents of Arthur's reply, Lucius Hiberius by the senate's command instructed the kings of the East to muster their forces and join him in conquering Britain. There swiftly assembled Epistrophus king of the Greeks, Mustensar king of the Africans, Aliphatima king of Spain, Hirtacius king of the Parthians, Boccus king of the Medes, Sertorius king of Libya, Serses king of the Itureans, Pandrasus king of Egypt, Micipsa king of Babylon, Politetes duke of Bithynia, Theucer duke of Phrygia, Evander of Syria, Echion of Boetia and Ypolitus of Crete, with the dukes and nobles subject to them.

As pointed out by J. S. P. Tatlock, of the fourteen Oriental allies of Rome listed by Geoffrey, Ituraea and Boetia are rarely mentioned elsewhere, and the Parthians usually appear as antagonists of Rome rather than as its tributaries.¹³⁵ The depiction of these as allies of Rome appears to be guided solely by the consideration that in that capacity they are also, crucially, opponents of Arthur who represents the West.¹³⁶ It must be noted that although the list of fourteen countries represents the Roman Empire at its greatest extent, it would be correct to include the Parthians and the Medes only for a brief period under Trajan (hardly at the time of Arthur), and as Tatlock notes, in selecting the fourteen names Geoffrey was not aiming at historical accuracy, but instead was invoking

was Siesia-Sessoyné?'; Keller, 'Two Toponymical Problems.' The issue of some Oriental names in the *Historia regum* and their crusading relevance is discussed in Tatlock, 'Certain Contemporaneous Matters', p. 210.

¹³³ They have been discussed in some detail by J. S. P. Tatlock in 'Certain Contemporaneous Matters', esp. pp. 206–24 and *The Legendary History*, pp. 111–14, 122, 124, 129 n. 65, 136.

¹³⁴ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, X.163, ed. by Reeve and trans. by Wright, pp. 222–23.

¹³⁵ Tatlock, 'Certain Contemporaneous Matters', p. 217.

¹³⁶ Tatlock, 'Certain Contemporaneous Matters', pp. 217–18.

a contemporary Orient coloured by legendary Trojan associations.¹³⁷ Geraldine Heng takes Tatlock's argument further, suggesting that 'Rome' in this context refers to the Byzantine Empire of the twelfth century which represented a rival force to the crusader states of the Levant, and in whose ranks were to be found many of the races enumerated by Geoffrey.¹³⁸ This appears to be an argument partially based on the issue of blurring of the boundaries between historical and contemporary ethnicities, to which we will return.¹³⁹ Whilst the degree of this conflation of historically distinct units may be debated, it must be noted that, as Tatlock points out, most of the countries mentioned in Geoffrey's list do figure in accounts of the First Crusade.¹⁴⁰ Even the name of the Eastern Roman emperor, Leo, recalls the name of an opponent of Geoffrey's crusader contemporaries.¹⁴¹ Yet for most of the Oriental allies of Rome listed in the *Historia regum*, classical origins can be found. These origins have already been identified by Tatlock, and, although more can be said about Geoffrey's sources, considerations of space force a narrowing of the focus, and skimming swiftly over the other names in the list, we will concentrate exclusively on those two names which appear to have none but contemporary crusading connotations and thus concern the contemporary Orient.¹⁴²

The names which have been identified as having crusading associations are Mustensar, king of the Africans, and Alifatima, king of Spain.¹⁴³ The name Mustensar probably derives from al-Mustansir, and was probably taken from the name of the eighth Fatimid Caliph of Egypt (1036–94), al-Mustansir

¹³⁷ Tatlock, 'Certain Contemporaneous Matters', pp. 213, 217–18.

¹³⁸ Heng, *Empire of Magic*, pp. 46–47.

¹³⁹ See Chapter 2 below.

¹⁴⁰ Tatlock, 'Certain Contemporaneous Matters', p. 218.

¹⁴¹ Tatlock, 'Certain Contemporaneous Matters', p. 217.

¹⁴² As Tatlock notes, none of the names are particularly conspicuous in any of the possible sources from which Geoffrey derived them, but they appear to have been purposefully selected. Moreover, it appears that the choice was primarily dictated by two types of association: historical (legendary, Trojan) and contemporary (crusading). For example, Micipsa of Babylonia has a north-African name, in line with the medieval association of Babylonia with Egypt and Cairo, rather than with Mesopotamia. Despite his derivation from Micipsa of Numidia, prominent in the Jugurthine wars, his associations, as will be seen, are with the contemporary Orient rather than with the historical; Tatlock, 'Certain Contemporaneous Matters', p. 211; Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum*, v. 6, vi. 2, vii. 2, viii. 1, ed. and trans. by Rolfe, pp. 140–41, 142–43, 144–45.

¹⁴³ Tatlock, 'Certain Contemporaneous Matters', p. 206; Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, x. 163, ed. by Reeve and trans. by Wright, pp. 222–23.

bi'llāh.¹⁴⁴ This figure would have been known to the participants of the First Crusade, accounts of which Geoffrey would almost certainly have read. It also needs to be pointed out in this connection, that when producing gold *dinārs* in the Latin Kingdoms, the crusaders appear to have used the *dinārs* of al-Mustansir as their exemplars.¹⁴⁵ In terms of the subtle geographical shifting observable in Geoffrey's use of names, while it must be pointed out that within the medieval European geographical scheme Egypt lay in the region of Asia rather than Africa (see Plates 1 and 2), if we are to think in terms of contemporary crusading geography, the boundaries between the two regions fluctuate and become less rigid because the Fatimids would have been in control of most of North Africa. Geoffrey thus either shifted the name-place correlation slightly here (as he did for all the other names in the list), moving his Mustensar from an association with Egypt to an association with Africa, or emphasized the extent of the Fatimid power (if the reference was intended to be picked up by the audience). Our interpretation of the passage depends on whether we read the text by mapping it onto the medieval geographical framework represented by the *mappae mundi* and *Imago mundi*, or overlaying that with the political framework of the crusades.

The suggestion that the system of coordinates is in this case dictated not only by the *mappae mundi* framework but also by reference to contemporary geopolitics, is supported by the nature of the link between this name (if it derives from al-Mustansir bi'llāh) and the second recognizably Arabic name in the text, *Aliphatima*, a link that lies in Shi'ism.¹⁴⁶ According to Tatlock, the combination of two names, Ali and Fatima, is unique and was not made by an Arabic-speaker.¹⁴⁷ This name is a product of an artificial and purposeful combination of the two names of the Prophet's daughter and his son-in-law.¹⁴⁸ Since both are important Shi'ite figures, Tatlock suggests that the name is based on a knowledge of Shi'ite Islam, and therefore the source of this knowledge is more

¹⁴⁴ See Tatlock, 'Certain Contemporaneous Matters', p. 207; for a study of the interaction between al-Mustansir, Caliph of Egypt, and the Byzantines, for example, see K. E. F. Thomson, 'Relations between the Fatimid and Byzantine Empires'.

¹⁴⁵ See Ehrenkreutz, 'Arabic *Dīnārs*', p. 176; for a study of the circulation of Arabic currency in medieval Europe, see Duplessy, 'La circulation des monnaies arabes'.

¹⁴⁶ I am grateful to Professor Rex Smith for pointing this link out to me (personal communication, July 2012).

¹⁴⁷ I am grateful to Professor Rex Smith for confirming this (personal communication, July 2012). Tatlock, 'Certain Contemporaneous Matters', p. 207.

¹⁴⁸ Tatlock, 'Certain Contemporaneous Matters'.

likely to have been Egypt or Palestine, rather than Muslim Spain, since the latter was Sunni.¹⁴⁹ Geoffrey appears to belong to the same environment of increasing interest in Middle Eastern affairs and to have had access to knowledge of Islam and the Arabs most likely brought back from the Middle East by those who returned from the First Crusade. He operates, for the purposes of the passage of *Historia regum* with contemporary relevance, within a political system of co-ordinates overlaid onto the theoretical (historico-geographical) one.¹⁵⁰

In *Brut y Brenhinedd*, the name Aliphatima/Alifatima undergoes a number of changes, some of which not only echo elements found in other medieval Welsh sources, but also appear to result in the loss of the original geopolitical co-ordinate system, losing the connection to Shi'ism and thus to Mustansir (Table 1).¹⁵¹

The name is variously rendered as *Aliphantma*, *Aliphantina*, *Affancinia*, *Aliffatima*, and *Eliffant* or *Aliphant*. The variants are given in Table 1 above. The variation can in most of the cases be explained through scribal error. In particular, the variation *-ma/-ina/-inia/-ima* is probably due to minim confusion (three or four minims). Similarly the *c* in *Affancinia* is likely to be an error for *t*, possibly due to the two letter forms' similar appearance in the exemplar, while the lack of *-li-* in the same variant is probably due to eye-skip. The intrusion of *-n-*, however, in four of the five variants, is unlikely to be a purely mechanical error. Instead, the explanation probably lies in the most striking of the readings: *Eliffant*.

¹⁴⁹ Tatlock, 'Certain Contemporaneous Matters', pp. 208–09. Tatlock further points out that the knowledge of Islam inherent in the composition of such a name is unparalleled in the British Isles before Geoffrey, where Saracens, if mentioned, were usually generically depicted as enemies of Christians and only vaguely localised; the only possible exception to this trend being William of Malmesbury; Tatlock, 'Certain Contemporaneous Matters', p. 207; while Tatlock's use of the adjective 'minute' when describing the knowledge in question may be excessive, the degree of familiarity with Islam that the composition of the name requires does appear to be rare for this period. Although Tatlock dismisses Spain as the possible origin of this knowledge, it seems worthwhile to note that it is precisely in the mid-twelfth century that the *escuela de traductores* of Toledo had begun attracting Western foreigners, and Englishmen in particular; for more on the *escuela*, see below, p. 43. For more on the knowledge of Islam in the medieval West, see Tolan, *L'Europe latine*.

¹⁵⁰ While the framework appears to be based on contacts with and knowledge of, Islam in the Middle East, it brings all of the Muslim lands, including Spain and Africa, together, with the contemporary crusading relevance thinly veiled under the label of Roman Empire. As Tatlock pointed out, all of the lands listed in this passage were known to Westerners in the twelfth century in a crusading context.

¹⁵¹ The variants are also discussed in Roberts, 'The Treatment of Personal Names', p. 281. Note, however, that Roberts renders the original Latin as *Aliphantina*.

Table 1. Variant readings for Alifatima in Welsh manuscripts.

Variant	Brut y Brenhinedd manuscript
Aliphantyma	Llanstephan 1
Aliffatima	NLW, MS Peniarth 21 (s. xiii/xiv)
Aliphantina	Cardiff, Central Library, MS 1.363 (s. xiv ¹) NLW, MS 3035 (s. xiv ²) BL, Additional MS 19709 (s. xiv ²) NLW, MS Peniarth 19 (s. xiv/xv) RB Philadelphia 8680 (s. xiv/xv)
Affancinia	BL Cotton Cleopatra B V i
Aliphantma	Llanstephan 1
Aliphant	Llanstephan 1
Eliffant	NLW, MS Peniarth 45 (s. xiv ¹) NLW, MS 3036 (s. xiv ¹) Cardiff, Central Library, MS 1.362 (s. xiv ^{med.})

The word for elephant, in various spellings, occurs many times in medieval Welsh texts. The most striking example is in NLW, MSS Peniarth 5, Peniarth 9 (1336), and Peniarth 10 (s. xiv^{med.}; s. xv/xvi) versions of *Cân Roland* (*Song of Roland*), the Welsh translation of the *Chanson de Roland*, where *eliphant* is used to designate Roland’s horn, the Oliphant.¹⁵² Other instances include Llywarch ap Llywelyn, also known as Prydydd y Moch (fl. 1173–1220), who compares himself to an ‘elephant’, sounding the praise of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth (1173–1240), referring seemingly to Roland’s horn rather than the animal.¹⁵³ It is highly probable, therefore, that the word ‘elephant’ was superimposed, either

¹⁵² For the readings, see the transcriptions available online on *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1350–1425* <<http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/>> [accessed 30 January 2014]. Note that one of the possible origins of the term *Oliphant* is the Latin *elephantus* (‘elephant ivory’); Bellamy, ‘Arabic Names’, pp. 275–76. Bellamy proposes an alternative theory, deriving *olifan*[*t*] from the Arabic *al-biquan* (‘trumpets’, ‘horns’ (pl.), sg. *buq*) on the basis of the visual similarity between the two words if written in Arabic script; Bellamy, ‘Arabic Names’, pp. 275–76. *Cân Roland* is further discussed in Chapter 3.

¹⁵³ *Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn*, ed. by Jones and Jones, p. 219; Carr, ‘Inside the Tent’, p. 31; D. M. Lloyd, ‘Llywarch ap Llywelyn’ <<http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-LLYW-APL-1173.html>> [accessed 16 April 2014]; Pierce, ‘Llywelyn ap Iorwerth’ <<http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s3-LLYW-API-1173.html>> [accessed 9 July 2014].

subconsciously, or as a correction, on the similar-sounding but less familiar term *Ali-Fatima*. Whilst it is unlikely that the translator was attempting to 'translate' the name in the strictest meaning of the term, since it is unclear in which language the translator would have thought *Aliphatima*/*Alifatima* meant 'elephant', it does appear that the Welsh translators and/or scribes failed to grasp the original meaning and etymology of *Ali-Fatima* and rendered it with the closest approximate homonym familiar to them which also had Oriental associations: *Elifant*.¹⁵⁴

This alteration of *Alifatima* to *Eliphant* results in linking *Eliphant* with Spain in the Welsh version of the text. It is unlikely that the translator or scribe responsible for this reading would have been unaware of its implications. However, if the resulting association of elephants and Spain was not accidental, the question arises of whether it would have been an association familiar from elsewhere. It is uncertain that elephants would have had Spanish connotations in thirteenth-century Britain. The only elephant known to have come to England during the Middle Ages had associations with the Holy Land. It was given to Henry III (1207–72) by his brother-in-law, Louis IX of France, in 1255.¹⁵⁵ The latter had acquired it during his unsuccessful crusade.¹⁵⁶ This elephant was famously drawn by Matthew Paris (c. 1200–59) in the period 1255×1259, and its arrival was such a major event that it may have been known to and influenced the translators or scribes of *Brut y Brenhinedd* if they were writing after it had occurred.¹⁵⁷ Matthew Paris wrote that people flocked en masse to see the elephant, even from across the Alps.¹⁵⁸ It does not appear

¹⁵⁴ Roberts, 'The Treatment of Personal Names', p. 281, groups this name with the others in the list of Lucius's allies as attempts to translate personal names. Compare the translators' attitudes to rendering unfamiliar names in *Delw y byd*, discussed above, pp. 12–14.

¹⁵⁵ For more, see Hutchison, *Cet étrange colosse*, pp. 108–10; S. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris*, pp. 4, 212–13; Ridgeway, 'Henry III'.

¹⁵⁶ Hutchison, *Cet étrange colosse*, pp. 108–10.

¹⁵⁷ Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, pp. 1–2, 91, 205, 256–57; S. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris*, pp. 15, 36, 212–13, 364; for the date of Matthew Paris's drawing, see Binski, 'Review of Suzanne S. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris*', p. 144. For the images in question, see CCCC, MS 16. I, fol. ii^r and CCCC, MS 16. II, fol. 152^r; *Parker Library on the Web* <http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/page_turner.do?ms_no=16I> and <http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/page_turner.do?ms_no=16II> [accessed 16 April 2014]. For recent work on Matthew Paris, see Weiler, 'Matthew Paris'.

¹⁵⁸ Quoted in S. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris*, p. 213. Carr suggests Welshmen might have seen the elephant, 'Inside the Tent', p. 34.

possible to postulate an association of elephants with Spain in the medieval Welsh imagination other than via *Brut y Brenhinedd* and, perhaps, *Cân Rolant*. However, in both texts the reference to elephants appears to be a product of scribal intervention and the association with Spain is invariably in a military, or even crusading context.

The two names discussed above are the only ones identified by Tatlock as having contemporary relevance to the crusades. They also appear to be the only significant indications of Geoffrey's knowledge of the Muslim world. Maghan Keita speculates on whether Geoffrey might have known of the legendary links between the princes of Troy and those of Ethiopia, and of Dido of Carthage with the kings of Egypt and Lybia.¹⁵⁹ Although it is impossible to assume such knowledge on Geoffrey's part, Keita is probably right in his interpretation of Geoffrey's reference to Arabs and Africans fearing a coming British king even in the depths of Spain as an anachronistic allusion to Islam.¹⁶⁰ The reference analysed by Keita comes in the *Prophetiae* section of *Historia regum* and is as follows: 'Tremebunt illum Arabes et Affricani; nam impetum cursus sui in ulteriorem Hispaniam protendent' ('The Arabs and Africans will tremble before him; for his charge will carry him all the way to further Spain').¹⁶¹ Keita, presumably on the basis of this king being identified as a boar, sees in this a reference to Arthur. However, as with most of Merlin's prophecy in Geoffrey's work, the identity of the protagonist is unclear, as he is only defined as a 'warlike boar' who emerges from Conanus. The *Prophetiae* is a highly problematic work, since it can bear different, even contradictory, interpretations.¹⁶² The reference to the boar's charge taking him all the way to further Spain is curious, since no British campaigns are known to have taken place there, and the English kings appear to have had no political interests in Spain at the time. Nevertheless, the possibility that this passage reflects a *reconquista*-type mode of thought should not be dismissed lightly, given the presence of another political prophecy relating to the reconquest of Spain in a contemporary text, the *Pseudo-Turpin*

¹⁵⁹ Keita, 'Africans in Europe', pp. 33–34.

¹⁶⁰ Keita, 'Africans in Europe', pp. 33–34.

¹⁶¹ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, VII.115, ed. by Reeve and trans. by Wright, pp. 148–49. For more on the *Prophetiae*, see pp. viii–ix and Eckhardt, 'Prophetiae Merlini'.

¹⁶² For example, both Tatlock and Faletra read them as a crucial central point of the text; see Tatlock, *The Legendary History*, p. 403, and Faletra, 'Narrating the Matter of Britain', p. 74; but while Tatlock puts a positive, pro-British construction on the prophecies, Faletra sees them as an articulation of Norman domination.

Chronicle.¹⁶³ Furthermore, the passage provides an echo of the Roman campaign section of the *Historia regum*. Both passages, albeit in different ways, connect Asia and Africa, pitching them against Britain.

Further, if Keita's identification of the boar with Arthur is correct, then this part of the *Prophetiae* is also echoed in the medieval Welsh literary tradition, in the list of Arthur's campaigns given in *Culhwch*, which is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4 below. The list is given by Arthur's porter, Glewlwyd Gafaelfawr, who recounts the names of the lands and geographical regions where he had campaigned with Arthur. It must be noted that he makes no reference to Spain or Arabs, although there is a reference to Africa. However, it plays the same function as the statement in the *Prophetiae*, of illustrating the spread of British power into far-flung lands. This theme will be discussed below in more detail, alongside with one other representation of Arthur as conqueror (this time of Northern lands), which occurs in both *Historia regum* and in another roughly contemporary text, the *Leges Eduardi Confessoris*, composed c. 1130.¹⁶⁴ It is potentially significant, in the light of the probable crusade-based framework of reference in *Historia regum* discussed above, that the other text also represents Arthur as a crusader: '[...] huius legis auctoritate expulit Arturus predictus Saracenos et inimicos a regno' ('with the authority of which law, the aforementioned Arthur expelled Saracens and enemies from the kingdom').¹⁶⁵ The significance of the presence of crusade-related terminology is not diminished by the possibility that in this case there is a confusion (or purposeful interchange of terminology) between Saxons or Vikings and Saracens.¹⁶⁶ Indeed, it is likely that the reference is in this case to Vikings, since the laws also ascribe to Arthur the conquest of far-reaching lands, which, however, do not include the Orient but rather North-Western Europe.¹⁶⁷ However, the use of the term 'Saracens', which implies a transference of crusade terminology (and perhaps also ideology) to another context, and another conflict, is a contemporary par-

¹⁶³ *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, pp. 5–6 ('The History of Charlemagne', trans. by R. Williams, pp. 87–88).

¹⁶⁴ See also discussion below, pp. 143–157.

¹⁶⁵ *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 655; my translation; see also O'Brien, 'Forgers of Law', pp. 470–71.

¹⁶⁶ For more on the synonymous use of these terms, see Speed, 'The Saracens of *King Horn*', esp. pp. 566–67; This is noted in *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 655 (note to the word *Saracenos*). See also the discussion in Chapter 2 below.

¹⁶⁷ *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 659. For more on the *Leges Eduardi*, see Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, I, 409–11.

allel to the phenomenon we have observed in *Historia regum*, suggesting that in mid-twelfth-century Britain crusade rhetoric may have achieved a degree of familiarity which permitted its use as a descriptive to give a specific and recognizable ideological colouring of other conflicts.¹⁶⁸

In terms of contemporary rather than legendary echoes of Geoffrey's reference to British interests in Spain, it is potentially significant that a similar reference to Spain is made by Gerald of Wales, who writes of Henry II receiving its ambassadors.¹⁶⁹ Whilst this evidence should not be pushed too far, the fact that Spain features in both Geoffrey's work and in Gerald's could be an indication of the heightened interest in Spain and Spanish affairs in Britain in the mid- to late twelfth century, which in turn could be related to the issue of the spread of the fame of the Toledo *escuela de traductores* ('school of translators'), a term given to the loosely knit collective of scholars and translators who were active there. The Welsh text *Gwyrthieu Mair* appears to contain an echo of the awareness of Toledo as a centre for the production of translations of texts containing scientific and arcane knowledge, since it associates Toledo with necromancy.¹⁷⁰ The fame of the *escuela* was so widespread that intellectuals from all over Europe, including England, would travel to it as a centre of scholarship.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ See also discussion in Chapter 2 below. It must, however, be kept in mind that given how little is known of *Leges Eduardi*, it would be perilous to assume that this text is completely independent of Geoffrey as far as its account of Arthur is concerned.

¹⁶⁹ See above, pp. 32–33.

¹⁷⁰ Cardiff, Central Library, MS 3. 242 (s. xiv^{ex}; 1382×c. 1400), p. 102 <<http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/ms-page.php?ms=Cr3242&page=102>> [viewed 16 April 2014]. The text is split between this manuscript and NLW, MS Llanstephan 27, parts of the Llyfr Coch Talgarth; the text is in the hand of Hywel Fychan; see 'Llanstephan 27: An Electronic Edition' TEI header <<http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/tei-header.php?ms=Llst27>>. The tale is also to be found in the WB. For more on the text, see Angell, 'Gwyrthieu'; and 'Gwyrthieu y Wynvydedic Veir', ed. by G. Jones; Mittendorf, 'Sprachliche und orthographische Besonderheiten'. It is also possible that the association of Toledo with necromancy, whilst still related to an awareness of the translation activities taking place there, stems from the association of the Arabic language and learning with magic. Translations from Arabic made in Spain in the twelfth century included a large number of hermetic texts, such as the *Ghāyat al-hakīm* (known in Latin as the *Picatrix*), sometimes attributed to Maslama al-Majriti; *Picatrix*, ed. and trans. by Bakhouché and others; see also Kunitzsch, 'Science between East and West', pp. 123–25; Avilés, 'Two Astromagical Manuscripts'; Hartner, 'Notes on Picatrix'; Kieckhefer, 'The Specific Rationality of Medieval Magic', pp. 819–20; K. L. Lynch, 'East Meets West', pp. 546–47.

¹⁷¹ Bosch, *Art, Liturgy and Legend in Renaissance Toledo*, pp. 35–36; Burnett, 'The Coherence of the Arabic-Latin Translation Program', p. 254.

Travel to Spain and increased awareness of and interest in it may also account for the mystery of the detailed reference to the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in the *Brut y Tywysogion* entries for 1212.¹⁷² Thus, the presence of echoes in other contemporary texts to the reference to Spain in the *Prophetiae* indicates not only awareness of the region, but the perception of some sort of relevance it may have for contemporary developments in Britain.

Historical and cultural context aside, two thematic issues emerge from the reference to Arabs and Africans of Spain in the *Prophetiae*. The first is that of empire, particularly in the (tentative) connection with the figure of Arthur.¹⁷³ The second issue is the perceived connection of Spain with Africa and the Muslim world. The Muslim world we have already encountered. Africa also recurs several times in the *Historia regum* and carries multiple associations. The reference to Africa as the origin of the Giants' Dance (= Stonehenge), for instance, does not appear to carry Oriental connotations.¹⁷⁴ According to Geoffrey, whose account is matched by that of Gerald of Wales, the stones were originally brought to Kildare from Africa by giants.¹⁷⁵ Although it is possible to associate the medieval European idea of Africa with giants, and although the association of giant size with Saracens was common in the Middle Ages, giant men were also associated with other regions and not exclusively with the Orient. One need only think of the giants who had inhabited Britain prior to Brutus's arrival in the *Historia regum* itself.¹⁷⁶ It is not therefore necessary to suggest that the Stonehenge giants had any Saracen or Oriental associations.

Nevertheless, it must be observed that the list of Roman allies in *Historia regum* gives Africa to Mustansir, placing it in the Muslim cultural and political sphere. If the juxtaposition of Arabs and Africans in the *Prophetiae* is to be interpreted as a function of the same crusade-influenced geographical system of coordinates, it would appear, when taken together with the Arabic names

¹⁷² *ByT: Pen.* 20, p. 158; *ByT: Pen. 20 tr.*, p. 86; *ByT:RB*, pp. 194–95; *ByS*, pp. 206–07.

¹⁷³ This issue of Arthur and his conquests in relation to the theme of empire is examined further in Chapter 4.

¹⁷⁴ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, VIII. 129, ed. by Reeve and trans. by Wright, pp. 172–73; see also Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Hibernica*, II. 18, ed. by Dimock, p. 100.

¹⁷⁵ Aurell, *La légende du roi Arthur*, pp. 145, 148. It has been suggested that Gerald took the story from Geoffrey rather than from an independent oral source, since his wording is very similar (p. 149). Geoffrey's own source for this legend, however, is unclear.

¹⁷⁶ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, I. 21, ed. by Reeve and trans. by Wright, pp. 26–27; see discussion in Chapter 5 below.

of Arthur's opponents in the *Historia regum* discussed above, to echo a crusade culture. It has been acknowledged that the representation of Arthur in the *Historia regum* as a Christian hero fighting pagans is primarily reminiscent of Charlemagne.¹⁷⁷ The exhortation of Arthur's troops by Archbishop Dubricius is reminiscent of Charlemagne of history, who also fought against pagan Saxons, of crusade sermons and also of the speeches of the Charlemagne Cycle.¹⁷⁸

Viri Christiana professione insigniti, maneat in uobis concuiuium uestrorum pietas et patriae, qui proditione paganorum exterminati uobis sempiternum erunt opprobrium nisi ipsos defendere institeritis. Pugnate pro patria uestra et mortem si superuenerit ultro pro eadem patimini. Ipsa enim uictoria est et animae remedium. Quicumque etenim pro confratribus suis mortem inierit uiuam hostiam se praestat Deo Christumque insequi non ambigitur, qui pro fratribus suis animam suam dignatus est ponere. Si aliquis igitur uestrum in hoc bello mortem subierit, sit ei mors illa omnium delictorum suorum paenitentia et ablutio, dum eam hoc modo recipere non diffugerit.¹⁷⁹

Men, distinguished as you are by Christian faith, do not forget your love for your land and fellow-countrymen, whose expulsion by the treacherous pagans will be a reproach against you forever if you fail to protect them. Fight for your country, ready to die for it if you must. Such a death means victory and the salvation of your souls. Whoever lays down his life for his fellow-Christians, dedicates himself as a living sacrifice to God and patently follows Christ, who deigned to die for his brothers. If any of you falls in this battle, let his death, provided he does not shrink from it, be the repentance and cleansing of all his sins.¹⁸⁰

The reference to the cleansing of sins, for instance, could be seen to evoke the concept of crusader indulgence, while the reference to Christian faith in conjunction with defence of the homeland may be an echo of crusade discourse based on the canon law concept of 'just war', to which we will return in our discussion of the Charlemagne Cycle below.¹⁸¹ The similarity with crusading heroes is emphasized in Arthur's adaptation of religious imagery in his armour. Whilst not wearing a cross, he nevertheless has the depiction of the Virgin on

¹⁷⁷ See Nicholson, 'Following the Path', p. 212.

¹⁷⁸ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 22. See also discussion in Chapter 3 below.

¹⁷⁹ *Historia regum*, ed. by Reeve, p. 199.

¹⁸⁰ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, ed. by Reeve and trans. by Wright, p. 198. Wright's translation could be said to slightly alter the ideological load of the original, since it, for instance, gives 'fellow-Christians' in the place of *fratribus*, 'brothers'.

¹⁸¹ See below, pp. 70, 108 for St Bernard, and 'just war' discussion pp. 116–121.

his shield, 'in memoriam ipsius saepissime reuocabat' ('to keep her memory always before his eyes').¹⁸² Although it is inadvisable to put too much weight on this parallel, the nature of Arthur's other foes in the *Historia regum*, discussed above, offers support to the theory that the idea of Arthur as a crusading hero was not too far from Geoffrey's mind.¹⁸³ Indeed, *Historia regum* propelled Arthur onto the international stage of conquerors already occupied by Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, and Charlemagne, as a figure in the historico-geographical scheme of *translatio studii et imperii*.¹⁸⁴ The parallel with Charlemagne also has crusading implications. Arthur's campaign can be seen as representing more than a sign of the independent imperial power of Britain, the contention of the power of her sister-empire Rome, and the *translatio* of the *imperium* from Troy to Britain (crucially by-passing Rome, since Brutus leaves Italy before its foundation). A desire to establish Arthur as a hero with contemporary relevance would explain the presence of crusade themes which echo those of the Charlemagne legends. It is worth noting that the current consensus places the date of the composition of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, a text carrying most of the crusade ideology connected to Charlemagne, to the same period as Geoffrey's *Historia regum*, and whilst this does not imply any direct connection between the two, both could be argued to originate in the same political, religious, and cultural climate.¹⁸⁵ Both are products of Western European thought, and parallels between some of the themes these texts address show that Geoffrey was as much a part of this climate as if he had been writing on the Continent. Quite apart from the possible connections with Charlemagne legends, the presence of references to the crusades in the *Historia regum* is hardly unexpected: Geoffrey was writing in the period immediately preceding the Second Crusade, at the time when the exposure to crusading discourse would have been at a high.¹⁸⁶ It is therefore the echoes of the spirit of the age that we have seen in the present discussion.

¹⁸² Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, ed. by Reeve and trans. by Wright, pp. 198, 199.

¹⁸³ See also Heng, *Empire of Magic*, pp. 42–43. Note, however, that for Arthur's campaigns against the Romans in the *Historia Regum* parallels have been also noted with Alexander's campaigns against Darius; see Aurell, *La légende du roi Arthur*, p. 134; and Morris, *The Character of King Arthur*, p. 66.

¹⁸⁴ A. Lynch, 'Imperial Arthur', p. 171.

¹⁸⁵ For more on the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, see Chapter 3.

¹⁸⁶ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 22. St Bernard composed *De laude novae militiae* c. 1130; Burton and Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, p. 199.

Both Geoffrey and Gerald show signs of having been influenced not only by contemporary developments in the Holy Land, and the related crusading discourse, but also by contemporary modes of historico-geographical thinking, best illustrated by geographical texts such as *Imago mundi*. Visible in their work is the schematic framework of *translatio studii et imperii*, and their representation of the Orient can be described using the triadic structure: as a legendary historical, biblical, or contemporary space, composed of interwoven elements of biblical history, Trojan legend, and contemporary crusading discourse. While *Delw y byd* provides the geographical structure for thinking about medieval Welsh views of the Orient, Gerald and Geoffrey provide the theoretical framework within which medieval Welsh texts can further be analysed. Both *translatio* and the triadic Orient appear to be present throughout the work of Gerald and to be useful in the analysis of other texts, including the *Historia regum* and *Vita Griffini filii Conani*. That these themes are present in the latter, a text composed in Wales, harks back to the beginning of the chapter, where the transmission of the historico-geographical theory into Wales was demonstrated in the discussion of the translation of *Imago mundi* into Welsh. The following chapter introduces an additional element in examining the influence of translated legendary material, before proceeding to employ the frameworks established here in the analysis of native Welsh texts in Part II.

TRAVEL AND CONTACT: CHRONICLE EVIDENCE

Contact with the Orient

The purpose of this chapter is not so much to present evidence for the extent of the phenomenon of Welsh travel to the East, as to evaluate Welsh exposure to contemporary crusading concerns and discourse. Broadly speaking, two types of travel to the Orient existed in the Middle Ages: the religious (pilgrimage or crusade) and the mercantile. For Welsh participation in the latter there appears to be no direct written evidence; for Welsh participation in the former in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, evidence exists in a number of different sources, among which the most important are the *Brutiau*, *Itinerarium Kambriae* of Gerald of Wales, and the *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi* (henceforth *Gesta Ricardi*).¹ There was no distinction in the terminology between crusade and pilgrimage for most of the period.² Consequently, pilgrimage and crusade are treated as one in the following discussion.

¹ The edition of Gerald's *Itinerarium Kambriae* is by Dimock, the translation by Thorpe. The *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi* has been edited by Stubbs, and translated by Nicholson.

² Crusaders were considered pilgrims for the benefit of their souls; Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, p. 2; Schmandt, 'Fourth Crusade', p. 194. For a discussion of the terminology, see Mayer, *The Crusades*, p. 15. The terms for crusading and pilgrimage are used as interchangeable synonyms in *Brut y Tywysogion*, for instance. See, for example, the entry for 1218, where the terms *croessogyon* 'crusaders', *kristnogyon* 'christians', and *pererinyon* 'pilgrims' are used interchangeably; *ByT: Pen. 20*, pp. 179–80; *ByT: Pen. 20 tr.*, pp. 96–97 (for more on this version of *ByT*, see below).

According to the *Gesta Ricardi* and the related Norman verse chronicle of Ambroise, both of late-twelfth/early-thirteenth-century composition, a curious shooting contest took place between a Welsh archer and a 'Parthian' at the siege of Acre in 1189×1191 (during the Third Crusade).³

[...] Parthus quidam in Gualensem adversa fronte missilia torquere, tela dirigere ut feriret magnopere studebat. Gualensis vero, arcus non inscius, ex adverso mittendo sagittas vicem pro vice rependebat [...]⁴

[...] a certain Parthian went on firing missiles at a Welshman on the opposite front line, trying hard to hit him. The Welshman, who was no beginner with the bow, fired back at him, returning shot for shot.⁵

In the course of this episode, the Parthian engages the Welshman in a contest. He offers that each shoot at the other in turn. The Welshman agrees. The Parthian subsequently shoots, misses, and demands to change the terms of the agreement, asking for a second chance and promising that the Welshman will then have the opportunity to shoot two arrows. The Welshman seemingly agrees to this, but shoots the other before he has a chance to draw the second arrow. The differences between this account and the related Francophone verse chronicle of Ambroise are minimal. One difference is that the Parthian is termed 'Turk' by Ambroise.⁶ Another lies in the names: the *Gesta Ricardi* does not name the Welshman and gives the name of the Parthian as *Grammahyr*, while in Ambroise's version, the Welshman is given the name *Marcaduc* and the name of the Turk is given as *Grair*.⁷ *Marcaduc* arguably represents the standard latini-

³ Note that 'Parthian' in medieval crusader parlance was used synonymously with the term 'Turk'; see Tatlock, 'Certain Contemporaneous Matters', p. 219. For a discussion of the vexed question of the relationship between the Latin and French chronicles and the dates of composition, see Vieliard, 'Richard Coeur de Lion'. Vieliard wrongly assigns the location of the second known manuscript of Ambroise's *Estoire* to the University of Tokyo; it is in fact held in Keio University, Tokyo, shelf mark 170X@9@11; the fragment is discussed in Colker, 'Newly Discovered Manuscript', and (in Japanese) Matsubara, 'Un nouveau fragment'. According to Hamilton, *Gesta Ricardi* dates to c. 1216–22; Hamilton, 'Knowing the Enemy', p. 382. The episode is mentioned briefly by Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, p. 84.

⁴ *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, I, 57, ed. by Stubbs, p. 108.

⁵ *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, trans. by Nicholson, pp. 111–12.

⁶ For the text, see Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War*, ed. by Ailes and Barber, I, 60–61 (trans. by Ailes, II, 84). For a discussion of the relationship between the two accounts, see introduction to *Gesta Ricardi*, trans. by Nicholson, pp. 6, 12–14.

⁷ Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War*, ed. by Ailes and Barber, I, 60 (trans. by Ailes, II, 84).

zation of the Welsh name Maredudd, and the reference in Ambroise may therefore be to an actual person and an actual incident, although it is unlikely that it will ever be possible to identify the Welshman in question, since the chronicle specifies that he 'si n'iert filz n'a rei n[e] a duc' ('was not the son of a king nor of a duke').⁸ This constitutes, nevertheless, a possible instance of a non-elite Welsh crusader present at Acre, suggesting that common soldiers from Wales could have taken part in the crusade alongside princes.

Further evidence supporting the existence of *Marcaduc* the crusader lies in the Welsh archer's oath. Ambroise's version of the episode ends with the Welshman swearing in the name of St Denis. The editors of the text have suggested that the reference could have originally been to St David, whose name a Welshman could well be expected to mention, and that the replacement would have been dictated by rhyme considerations (*Denis* with *tenis*).⁹ Had the chronicle been in prose, a scribal confusion between *Dewi* (*Deui*) and *Denis* could also have been possible. Nevertheless, at least a partial reason for the replacement may have also been that St Denis would be more familiar to the French audience. These considerations, combined with the issue of the Welshman's name, indicate that Ambroise's text could have been based on a real occurrence. The *Gesta Ricardi*, on the other hand, which does not provide the name and where the story is anecdotal and contains a moral message, suggests that the protagonist was also, at least for the readers of *Gesta Ricardi*, to be thought of as a generic Welshman on Crusade, implying that this would be a common figure, rather than an exception to the general rule.¹⁰ That this may be a by-product of the adaptation of the source does not detract from this argument, and it is thus possible that not only do we have evidence here for at least one Welshman's presence at Acre, but that Welsh archers may have been sufficiently common in

⁸ J. G. Edwards, 'The *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*', p. 67; Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War*, ed. by Ailes and Barber, I, 60 (trans. by Ailes, II, 84 n. 265). The name Maredudd was often written by non-Welsh scribes in the form *Mareduc*, and often abbreviated as *M'educ*. It is therefore possible that *Marcaduc* is in fact a misunderstanding and an incorrect expansion of *M'educ*. For more on the name Maredudd, see Morgan and Morgan, *Welsh Surnames*, pp. 160–63. Boyd mentions this incident in the context of a brief discussion of Welsh participation but does not make it clear that the Welshman in question is explicitly stated in the text to not have been a nobleman; Boyd, 'Celts Seen as Muslims', p. 25.

⁹ Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War*, ed. by Ailes and Barber, I, 61 (trans. by Ailes, II, 84).

¹⁰ It is not unlikely that the story of the Welsh archer could ultimately have been based on an eye-witness account. As Viellard points out, Mayer had demonstrated that the *Gesta Ricardi* up to I. 65 closely follows an eye-witness account. It is therefore possible that the case of the Welsh archer episode in I. 57 is similar.

the Crusader army to give rise to a generalized figure of a Welsh archer as a protagonist in an anecdotal narrative.

Although named Welshmen (apart from *Marcaduc*) do not appear to feature in accounts of the crusades, it is not improbable that they were present as a contingent of the English army, especially for the Third Crusade and after, since, as Jacques Boussard points out, Welshmen begin to feature as part of the mercenary army of the English kings in and after the reign of Henry II (1154–89).¹¹ According to Peter Edbury we have at least one more possible Welshman referred to in the *Gesta Ricardi* II. 149, one Simon de Walles, who is mentioned as drowning at Acre.¹² Whether this Simon was Welsh or Marcher, he appears to have come from Wales. Hans Mayer refers to Welsh participation in the defence of Krak des Chevaliers in 1163, but gives no reference to his sources.¹³

Independent of crusade-related evidence, such as the story of *Marcaduc* recounted above, there is also evidence for the presence of Celts (whether these are Welshmen or Irishmen is uncertain) in the East. As early as the sixth century, Procopius of Caesarea in his *Anecdota* (also known as *Historia Arcana*) implies that the inhabitants of the British Isles travelled to Byzantium to seek the generosity of the Emperor Justinian to enrich themselves.¹⁴ Further, in one of very few references to Western scholars in Byzantium, Michael Psellos claims that his teaching attracted Celts, amongst other peoples.¹⁵

From within Wales, information regarding travel to the Orient, and also to some extent regarding the understanding of contemporary developments there, is available in the *Brutiau*, which provide the bulk of the annalistic evidence regarding Welsh participation and interest in the crusades and the contemporary Orient.¹⁶ The term *Brutiau* or *Brut y Tywysogion*, refers to several different vernacular chronicles that appear to share a common Latin original. This group appears to be related to the *Annales Cambriae* (*Welsh Annals*) and the *Cronica*

¹¹ See Boussard, 'Les mercenaires', pp. 193, 200–02.

¹² Edbury, 'Preaching the Crusade in Wales', p. 232 n. 34.

¹³ See Mayer, *The Crusades*, p. 89; for a list of possible Welsh crusaders, see Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, pp. 214–19.

¹⁴ Procopius of Caesarea, *Anecdota*, ed. and trans. by Dewing, pp. 232–33.

¹⁵ See Ciggaar, *Western Travellers to Constantinople*, p. 26 n. 9, and Gautier, 'Quelques lettres', p. 154 n. 3.

¹⁶ The evidence of these texts for Welsh crusading is examined in Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, pp. 15–38; Petrovskaja, 'Oaths, Pagans and Lions', pp. 13–14.

de Wallia (*Chronicle of Wales*).¹⁷ The Latin version of the text appears to have been composed at some point in the late thirteenth century, and must have been translated shortly after.¹⁸ Thomas Jones identifies three versions of *Brut y Tywysogion*: the RB version (680–1282); the Peniarth 20 version (681–1332); the *Brenhinedd y Saesson* (*Kings of the Saxons*) version: (683–1197 Cotton Cleopatra version), (683–1461 Black Book of Basingwerk version).¹⁹ *Brenhinedd y Saesson* concerns us less since it appears to be an abridged vernacular version of the same Latin chronicle.²⁰ The RB and Peniarth 20 versions, named after the most famous manuscripts which contain them (RB and NLW, Peniarth 20 (s. xiv¹)) are closely related and appear to be independent translations of the same Latin original.²¹ Evidence, such as greater attention given to events taking place there, points towards the Cistercian abbey of Strata Florida as the place of production of the original Latin version of *Brut y Tywysogion*.²²

Crusade-related entries occur in the *Brutiau* only for the period 1092 (1094)×1290(1290) in the Peniarth 20 version, and 1090(1094)×1248 (1248)

¹⁷ See *ByT: Pen. 20 tr.*, pp. xiii, xxxvi; cf. Lloyd, *Welsh Chronicles*, pp. 9–13; Charles-Edwards and Charles-Edwards, ‘The Continuation of Brut y Tywysogion’; *MWM*, p. 41 n. 9; Richter, ‘National Identity’, p. 71. The surviving fragmentary copy of the *Cronica de Wallia* in Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3514 covers the period 1190–1266, but has lacunae; for an edition and discussion of this text, see *Cronica de Wallia*, ed. by Jones; and Crick, ‘Power, Preaching and the Crusades’ for the manuscript.

¹⁸ R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*, p. 201.

¹⁹ *ByT: Pen. 20 tr.*, pp. xxxv–xliv. It is contained in BL, MS Cotton Cleopatra B. V. i and NLW, MS 7006 the ‘Black Book of Basingwerk’ (*ante* 1461). For the details see *MWM*, pp. 50–51, 53, 59, 62. Huws notes that the historical texts are conspicuous in identifiably Cistercian manuscripts, and it appears that *Brut y Tywysogion* was in origin a Strata Florida text and *Brut y Brenhinedd* in most of its versions a Valle Crucis one. Although the RB version of the *Brut* is less reliable than the Peniarth 20 version, it is nevertheless useful since many other texts examined here occur in the RB. Consequently, both the Peniarth 20 and RB versions are referred to in the following discussion.

²⁰ See *ByT: Pen. 20 tr.*, p. xxxvii. Lloyd and Rejhon both believe that *Brenhinedd y Saesson* version is an amalgamation of the abridged Welsh chronicle with English annals; see Lloyd, *Welsh Chronicles*, pp. 386–87 and *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, p. 16.

²¹ See *ByT: Pen. 20 tr.*, pp. xxxv–xxxvi. According to Jones, the entries for the years 1282–1332 in Peniarth 20 are added by two or three later hands, and therefore the original for the RB and Peniarth 20 must have ended at the same date: 1282; *ByT: Pen. 20 tr.*, pp. xxxv–xxxvi.

²² For more on this, see Lloyd, *Welsh Chronicles*, p. 19; *ByT: Pen. 20 tr.*, p. xxxix; *ByT: RB*, p. lii; Cowley, *Monastic Order*, p. 157; *MWM*, p. 12; Fulton, ‘Troy Story’, pp. 144, 148 n. 2.

in the RB version.²³ Despite the abundance of references to the crusades, there are only two references to Welshmen travelling to the Orient. In one case, the type (purpose) of travel is not specified; in the other, the travellers are explicitly called 'pilgrims'. However, as has already been pointed out, in medieval parlance, 'pilgrim' could also designate crusader.²⁴ The first instance is that of Morgan ap Cadwgan, who features in two consecutive entries.²⁵ The first entry relates to his murder of his brother in the course of a dispute, and the second refers to his death on the way back from a penitential journey to Jerusalem.

1122 (1125)

yn y vlwydyn honno y ganet twyll yrwng morgant amared'. meibyon kadwg' ap bled'. ac y lladawd morgant ay law chun mared'. y vrawt.²⁶

In that year treachery was begotten between Morgan and Maredudd, sons of Cadwgan ap Bleddyn; and Morgan with his own hand slew Maredudd, his brother.²⁷

1125 (1128)

parth adiwed yvlwydyn honno yr aeth morgant ap kadwg' ygaervssalem oachaws llawrudyaeth y vrawt aphan ymchwelawd dracheuyn yn ynys ciprys ymor tiren ybu varw.²⁸

Towards the end of that year Morgan ap Cadwgan went to Jerusalem because of the murder of his brother, and as he was returning he died in the island of Cyprus in the Tyrrhene Sea.²⁹

The dates of these events locate them between the First (1096–99) and Second (1147–49) Crusades. Although the text does not specify the type of pilgrimage, the apparent shortness of Morgan's stay in Jerusalem suggests penitential pilgrimage rather than military service. Given that in the Middle Ages the des-

²³ The dates given in plain text are as they are in the manuscripts, while the dates in brackets represent the date at which the events actually occurred; unless noted otherwise the corrected dates come from the editions and translations of Thomas Jones.

²⁴ See above, p. 49.

²⁵ *ByT: Pen.* 20, pp. 83–84; *ByT: Pen.* 20 *tr.*, p. 50; *ByT: RB*, pp. 110–11; cf. B and C texts of the *Annales Cambriae*, ed. by Williams ab Ithel, pp. 37–38, entries for 1124 and 1128.

²⁶ *ByT: Pen.* 20, p. 83. The *Annales Cambriae* has this in the entry for 1124; see *Annales Cambriae*, ed. by Williams ab Ithel, p. 37.

²⁷ *ByT: Pen.* 20 *tr.*, p. 49.

²⁸ *ByT: Pen.* 20, p. 84. Same date given in *Annales Cambriae*, ed. by Williams ab Ithel, p. 38.

²⁹ *ByT: Pen.* 20 *tr.*, p. 50.

tinations of pilgrims were often decided in proportion to their sins, a penitential pilgrimage to Jerusalem would seem appropriate for the gravity of Morgan's sin. Hurlock argues against this interpretation, pointing out that fratricide was too common a phenomenon for the guilty party to necessarily undertake penitence.³⁰ However, the lack of reference in the chronicles to acts of penitence following such crimes does not necessarily mean that it was not performed, but could rather indicate that it was not deemed worth recording. While this entry might not constitute proof of crusading activity on the part of the Welsh, it shows that pilgrimages to Jerusalem did take place. This may only have been for such exceptional sins as fratricide, which necessitated greater penance than local pilgrimage could afford. In addition, the entry informs us of the routes of travel, telling us that Morgan's route went via Cyprus, that is, by sea.

The next relevant entry detailing Welsh travel to the Holy Land is for 1142 (1144): 'yn y vlywydyn honno y bodes pererinyon kymry yn mynet y gaervssalem' ('In that year Welsh pilgrims were drowned on their way to Jerusalem').³¹ The date is outside the conventional dates for the Second Crusade and precedes the entry recording its beginning.³² Consequently, this is also probably penitential pilgrimage. But it could also conceivably be settlers travelling to the recently founded Crusader states. The RB specifies that the sea in which the pilgrims drowned was the *Mor Groec* ('sea of Greece'), meaning the Mediterranean.³³ Only one of the *Annales Cambriae* manuscripts contains the reference to the pilgrims, BL, MS Cotton Domitian A. i (s. xiii).³⁴ That entry, however, provides an interesting variant. Whilst it does not refer to the location where the pilgrims drowned, it specifies that they are *de Dyvet et Keredigaun* ('from Dyfed and Ceredigion').³⁵

³⁰ Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, pp. 18–19.

³¹ *ByT: Pen.* 20, p. 91; *ByT: Pen.* 20 *tr.*, p. 53.

³² *ByT: Pen.* 20, p. 95; *ByT: Pen.* 20 *tr.*, p. 55; *ByT: RB*, pp. 124–25.

³³ *ByT: Pen.* 20 *tr.*, p. 175; *ByT: RB*, pp. 118–19. In the geographical treatise *Delw y byd*, the term *Mor Groec* is used to translate the Latin *Mediterraneum mare*, thus the reference in this *Brut y Tywysogion* entry is also likely to be to the Mediterranean. See chapters 10 [9], 16 [15], 18 [17], 25 [24], and 34 [33] of the RB-A and chapters 27 [25] and 34 [33] of WB and RB-B; *Delw y byd*, ed. by Lewis and Diverres, pp. 26–27, 34–35, 40–41, 46–47, 95, 97; *Imago mundi*, ed. by Flint, pp. 52, 56, 57, 60, 64. The term is also used to translate the Latin *Magnum mare* in one instance in the WB and RB-B texts in chapter 28 [26]; *Delw y byd*, ed. by Lewis and Diverres, p. 95; *Imago mundi*, ed. by Flint, p. 61.

³⁴ Version C, *Annales Cambriae*, ed. by Williams ab Ithel, p. 43; the date given is for the chronicle section only; see BL Manuscripts Catalogue online, entry for Cotton Manuscript Domitian A i [accessed 21 January 2014].

³⁵ *Annales Cambriae*, ed. by Williams ab Ithel, p. 43.

The entries on the penitent and the pilgrims have two common points. In the first place, they show that for Welsh travellers in the mid-twelfth century, the route to Jerusalem lay by sea.³⁶ In the second place, in both cases the pilgrims perish in the voyage. It could therefore be argued that these instances of travel were selected for recording by the compilers of *Brut y Tywysogion* precisely for that reason. The absence of further references does not necessarily indicate the lack of travel but simply that the travellers returned safely. The death of Morgan ap Cadwgan probably is intended to carry a moral message, even if such a message is not explicitly stated. Since he died on the way back, it may well be that it was seen as the final note in his journey to redemption. The case of the drowned pilgrims is slightly more complex. Unlike Morgan's case, there appears to be no unambiguous moral message in the reference. Perhaps, the story was deemed worth mentioning because there was a large number of casualties. In this respect the *Annales Cambriae* entry may aid interpretation. In this text, immediately after the reference to the drowned pilgrims from Dyfed and Ceredigion, the entry concludes with a note on the founding of a new monastery, *Alba Canda* (presumably an error for *Albalanda*, Whitland), at *Trefgarn* (Treffgarne) in *Deuglethef* (Dungledddy), by Cistercians led by Bishop Bernard (of St David's, d. 1148).³⁷ The reference is to the establishment of Whitland.³⁸ Whilst it would be inadvisable to ascribe too great a significance to the sequence or juxtaposition of information in the entries, and whilst the reference to a Cistercian foundation may be no more than an expression of the interests of Cistercian chroniclers, the effect of the sequence is to emphasize the religious features of the text. Pilgrims drowned. A monastery was founded. We are unlikely ever to know whether among these pilgrims from Dyfed and Ceredigion were any monks. The proximity of Dungledddy to both, however, suggests that there might have been, or at least that the pilgrims may have been known at Whitland (the community arrived in Wales by 1140, even if they only settled in Treffgarne by 1144), and thus to the Cistercians.³⁹

³⁶ The route via Cyprus was one of the major routes across the Mediterranean; Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War*, pp. 7, 70–71, 95. Crusaders' routes are discussed further in Chapter 3 below.

³⁷ For more on Bernard, see Lloyd, 'Bernard' <<http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-BERN-ARD-1148.html>> [accessed 9 July 2014].

³⁸ Williams, *Welsh Cistercians*, pp. 5–6.

³⁹ Williams, *Welsh Cistercians*, pp. 5–6. For the locations, see Map 1 at the front of this book.

No further mention of Welsh travel to the Holy Land is made in *Brut y Tywysogion*. However, by the Third Crusade (1187–92), other information becomes available.⁴⁰ For Wales we have a very unique piece of evidence — a record of what is probably one of the best-organized crusade preaching tours in the history of the crusades, that of Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury in 1188, described in Gerald's *Itinerarium*.⁴¹

The *Itinerarium* dates from 1191 (first version) and is an account of the tour of Wales undertaken in 1188 by Baldwin, the Cistercian archbishop of Canterbury, to preach the Third Crusade.⁴² Although sometimes labelled a description of the 1188 tour, the *Itinerarium* is primarily a collection of anecdotes and observations loosely tied together by the journey narrative. This text contains logistical information about the tour such as the routes taken and the reactions of the audiences to the preaching, but it does not relate the contents of the sermons themselves.⁴³ Although some of the sermons are unlikely to have been intelligible to the Welsh audience (Gerald boasts of having preached in Latin and French, and makes reference elsewhere to the use of interpreters), some degree of success has been attributed to the tour and it is likely to have increased awareness of the crusades. Since Gerald himself was a participant in the tour, his objectivity regarding its outcome is questionable, and his claim that 3000 men took the cross has been treated with just suspicion, particularly as to whether they subsequently fulfilled their oath.⁴⁴ Despite this, however, the *Itinerarium*, as a unique description of a crusade preaching tour, is an invaluable source for the study of Welsh participation in the crusades and an apt illustration of Gerald's own interest in the affairs of the Holy Land and the con-

⁴⁰ For a chronology of the Third Crusade, see Nicolle, *The Third Crusade*, pp. 16–17.

⁴¹ Note that the tour is not mentioned in the Welsh chronicles. For a discussion, see below, pp. 72–73.

⁴² Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 77; see the introduction to Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, trans. by Thorpe, pp. 15–16, 24–29, 36–39; Edbury, 'Preaching the Crusade in Wales', p. 221. For discussions of the tour, see Pryce, 'Gerald's Journey'; Hurlock, 'Power, Preaching and the Crusades'. Three versions of the text survive, which appear to date to c. 1191, c. 1197, and c. 1214 (Thorpe, pp. 38–39). As Gerald produced new versions, he appears to have added new material. Note that Thorpe's translation is of the third version of the *Itinerarium* (pp. 45–46).

⁴³ Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, pp. 58–91, esp. 61 and 81.

⁴⁴ Gerald makes the claim in *Itinerarium Cambriae*, II. 13, ed. by Dimock, p. 147 (trans. by Thorpe, p. 204); Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, p. 82, Edbury, 'Preaching the Crusade in Wales', p. 232.

temporary Orient. It may have been conditioned by Gerald's political thought at later stages in his career more than by the events of 1188, since he dedicates its third version to Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury.⁴⁵ Stephen's candidacy for the archbishopric had been opposed by King John and supported by Innocent III. The conflict between king and pope had escalated to unprecedented heights and Gerald's dedication of the work to the archbishop is probably an indication of his political orientation, giving the work political immediacy.⁴⁶ This aspect of the work makes it all the more precious as an aid to our understanding of Gerald's engagement with contemporary discourse, including that relating to the crusades.

Gerald often gives examples of the audiences' positive reaction to crusade preaching. It is, however, unclear how much of this information is accurate and how much is provided for rhetorical effect. One thinks, in particular, of the scene in the beginning of *Itinerarium* I. 2, where men rush to take the cross so eagerly that they jump out of their clothes.⁴⁷ While the recurring phrase *plurimisque ad crucem conversis* ('and many took the cross') and its variants, such as *ad crucis allecti*, seems suspiciously formulaic, it can be argued that the descriptions are strikingly similar because the same routine took place whenever the archbishop stopped to preach.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, that the enthusiasm was not uniform is apparent from the episode of the youths who refused to be moved by the preaching.⁴⁹ Whether this is an *exemplum* added to emphasize the hallowed

⁴⁵ Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, Praefatio Prima, ed. by Dimock, p. 7 (trans. by Thorpe, p. 68).

⁴⁶ Powicke, *Stephen Langton*, pp. 75–101; *ByT: Pen.* 20, pp. 150–52; *ByT: Pen.* 20 tr., p. 83; *ByT: RB*, pp. 186–89; *ByS*, pp. 200–01. Note the unflattering references to Henry II in Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, Praefatio Prima, ed. by Dimock, p. 7 (trans. by Thorpe, p. 67); cf. Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, II. 7, ed. by Warner, pp. 170–72.

⁴⁷ Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, ed. by Dimock, p. 20 (trans. by Thorpe, p. 80).

⁴⁸ Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, I. 4, ed. by Dimock, p. 48 (trans. by Thorpe, p. 109). Other examples include: 'multitudo virorum cruce signatur', 'ad crucis obsequia multis allectis', 'plurimis ad crucem allectis', 'plurimisque ad crucem allectis, ad crucis signaculum catervatim accurrerunt', 'plurimis [...] ad crucis obsequium allectis'; 'and many took the cross', 'many people were persuaded to take the cross', 'many took the cross', 'many were persuaded to take the cross', 'rushing forward in equal numbers to receive the sign of the cross', 'many persons were induced to take the cross' (I. 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, II. 4, ed. by Dimock, pp. 55, 62, 67, 73, 83, 119, trans. by Thorpe, pp. 109, 121, 126, 132, 141, 178).

⁴⁹ Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, II. 7, ed. by Dimock, p. 126 (trans. by Thorpe, pp. 185–86). The lack of enthusiasm in certain parts of Wales is discussed by Hurlock in relation to local politics; see Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, pp. 178–208.

nature of the enterprise, or a sign that Gerald presents an accurate picture of the reception, is a moot point. Note that the *ad crucis allecti* formula recurs in the same episode and is used this time in relation to the common people.⁵⁰ It appears that Gerald uses the formula to balance out the *exemplum*, which is a potentially disruptive element since it depicts a lack of enthusiasm for the crusade, bringing the narrative closer to the standard pattern of preaching and recruiting established in the *Itinerarium*. Other detailed examples of reception include an account of the meeting with the Lord Rhys (1131/32–97), and the wish of his three sons to take the cross (II. 4).⁵¹ However, we know from other sources that Maelgwn ap Rhys of Deheubarth (d. 1231), the eldest but illegitimate son of Lord Rhys who, according to Gerald, took the cross, never went on crusade.⁵² *Itinerarium* II. 5 begins with the company coming to North Wales, where Peter de Leia, Bishop of St David's, (1176–98) left, while Gruffudd ap Cynan ab Owain Gwynedd (d. 1200) came to meet them.⁵³ This exemplifies the trend of rulers accompanying the archbishop through their lands, which can be seen throughout the *Itinerarium*. Together with the swearing of oaths that were never fulfilled, this seems to indicate a wish to keep up an appearance of obedience to Canterbury and of enthusiasm for the crusading endeavour. Crucially for us, this implies that Welsh rulers, and possibly also the educated elite in their following, were exposed to crusading discourse. Thus, echoes of this discourse found in contemporary Welsh sources may not be entirely coincidental.

Information given by Gerald himself also occasionally matches facts known from other sources, as when he claims that Welshmen, 'lanceis et sagittis expeditissim[i]' ('well-equipped with spears and the arrows'), sign up to the crusade.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, II. 7, ed. by Dimock, p. 126 (trans. by Thorpe, p. 186).

⁵¹ See Pryce, 'Rhys ap Gruffudd (1131/2–1197)'; for a more detailed biography, see Turvey's *Welsh Princes*, pp. 57–61 and *Lord Rhys*; Jones and Pryce, eds, *Arglwydd Rhys*.

⁵² Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, II. 4, ed. by Dimock, p. 119 (trans. by Thorpe, pp. 178–79); see also Pryce, 'Rhys ap Gruffudd (1131/2–1197)', and Smith, 'Gruffudd ap Rhys (d. 1201)'. For more on Maelgwn, see Turvey, *Welsh Princes*, pp. 85–87.

⁵³ Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, ed. by Dimock, pp. 122–23 (trans. by Thorpe, pp. 181–82); for dates of Peter de Leia's bishopric, see Pryce, 'Wales: Religion and Piety', p. 414; for Gruffudd ap Cynan ab Owain Gwynedd see Turvey, *Welsh Princes*, p. 85.

⁵⁴ Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, II. 13, ed. by Dimock, p. 147; my translation. Thorpe translates *expeditissim[i]* as 'highly skilled' (p. 204), the Latin here means 'well-equipped', and the text makes sense in the context of medieval warfare, where each soldier was obliged to produce his own equipment; for more on provision of equipment in medieval

The presence of at least one such well-equipped archer is attested, as we have seen, by the story of *Marcaduc* in the *Gesta Ricardi* I. 57.⁵⁵

Interpretation and Impact

The *Brutiau* demonstrate an interest in the affairs of the Holy Land that goes beyond the narrow remit of references to Welsh pilgrimage. Matters of interest include the activities of the English kings, the aftermath of whose actions would ripple through the island and impact Wales to some degree. Such actions could be expected to be noted, and indeed, they were. For example, in the entry for 1092 (1094), William Rufus is recorded as going to Normandy ‘wrth amdiffyn tyrnas robert y vrawd yr hwnn aathod y kaerussalem y ymlad asarasinyeid ac y amdiffyn y gristnogaeth’ (‘to defend the kingdom of Robert, his brother, who had gone to Jerusalem to fight against the Saracens and to defend Christendom’).⁵⁶ Entries for 1096 (RB) and 1098 (Peniarth 20) (1100) subsequently refer to Robert’s return from the Holy Land after a victory.⁵⁷ These events are of some relevance to Wales, as they take the Anglo-Norman king of England away from the island to Normandy, and this could be argued to be the reason for this entry’s inclusion in the chronicle. Yet it does not explain why Robert’s return from Jerusalem was also recorded. One could suggest that whatever the source of the crusading entries in the *Brutiau* (possibly another chronicle), all crusade-related information from it was incorporated. There is, however, at present no way of proving that suggestion so it must perforce remain speculation.

While the political implications of the 1092 (1094) entry have been discussed by Hurlock, its cultural and contextual implications have remained unobserved.⁵⁸ In this entry, the RB adds ‘a chenedloed ereill’ (‘and other peoples’) to the mention of Saracens as enemies whom Robert is fighting in the Holy Land, as well as the phrase: ‘ac y haedu mwy o glot’ (‘and to gain greater glory’) as his motivation. The second addition, the notion of glory gained through fighting non-Christians, is reminiscent of the crusading motifs dis-

warfare, see Nicholson, *Medieval Warfare*, pp. 45–47, 112, 120.

⁵⁵ *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, ed. by Stubbs, p. 108 (trans. by Nicholson, pp. 111–12).

⁵⁶ *ByT: Pen. 20*, pp. 25–26; *ByT: Pen. 20 tr.*, p. 19.

⁵⁷ *ByT: Pen. 20*, pp. 30–31; *ByT: RB*, pp. 40–41.

⁵⁸ For Hurlock’s discussion, see *Wales and the Crusades*, pp. 20–21.

cussed in relation to the Welsh Charlemagne Cycle in Chapter 3 below. The first addition, *cededloed ereill*, appears to be a standard phrase, referring to the presence of multiple ethnic groups.⁵⁹ However, it also raises issues about the identification of the enemy in these texts. The term *cededloed* appears to be occasionally used in the *Brutiau* to carry the meaning ‘heathen’ or ‘gentile’, and is sometimes used as part of the phrase *cededloed duon*, which appears to be an equivalent of the Irish *Dubgennti* (‘dark heathens’).⁶⁰ Both the term *cededloed* and the term *paganyeit* (‘pagans’) is used for two sets of enemies in *Brut y Tywysogion*: for Vikings before 1094, and for Saracens after 1094, that is, after the first entry in the chronicles referring to the crusades.⁶¹ The use of these generic terms to designate Saracens in the context of crusading entries reflects the current crusading discourse of the time.⁶² In our corpus, examples of this phenomenon include a letter of pope Urban III, reproduced by Gerald in *De principis instructione* II. 23, where the pope refers to the ‘gens impia paganorum’ (‘faithless pagan people’) or ‘gens nefaria paganorum’ (‘perfidious pagan people’) of the Orient, while Gerald himself refers to gentiles.⁶³ Note that the other term employed in this letter is ‘Turks’ rather than ‘Saracens’, reflecting a certain fluidity of terms also observed in the archers’ story in the versions of Ambroise and *Gesta Ricardi* discussed above.

Generic labels such as *paganyeit* and *cededloed* often accompany more specific ethnic designations, such as *sarassinyeit*. In the entry for 1188, *Brut y Tywysogion* refer to ‘pagans and Saracens’ taking Jerusalem.⁶⁴ The order in which the various terms are used in this passage is significant. Pagans are men-

⁵⁹ Compare, for instance, similar phrasing in *Delw y byd*, ed. by Lewis and Diverres, p. 33; *Ystorya de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 1, ll. 9–10.

⁶⁰ *ByT: RB*, pp. 16–17, pp. 35–36; *Chronicle of Ireland*, trans. by Charles-Edwards, II, 3.

⁶¹ See, for example, *ByT: Pen. 20*, p. 9. The references to Vikings as *paganyeit* are numerous; for an example, see *ByT: Pen. 20*, p. 3; *ByT: Pen. 20 tr.*, p. 3.

⁶² For more on the common medieval representation of Saracens as pagans, see the chapter ‘Saracens as Pagans’ in Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 105–34. The terms ‘Saracen’, ‘pagan’, and ‘Jew’ became interchangeable in the Middle Ages; Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 128; also *Legendary Poems*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, p. 310 n. 77.

⁶³ Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, ed. by Warner, pp. 201, 202; my translation. Compare also the use of *impius* and *nefarius* to describe non-Christians in the works of the Charlemagne Cycle, discussed in Chapter 3 below.

⁶⁴ *ByT: Pen. 20*, pp. 131–32; *ByT: Pen. 20 tr.*, p. 73. This entry is particularly important for the study of Welsh interest in crusading for a number of reasons, including its lack of reference to Baldwin’s tour of Wales, on which more below.

tioned first and Saracens later, which might imply that here *paganyeit* refers to a specific ethnic identity rather than being used as a generic term, since in the other Welsh lists of peoples we have seen above, the trend is to move from the specific to the general. Another instance of double references is the Peniarth 20 entry for 1185, quoted below, which recounts the arrival of the Patriarch of Jerusalem to England to encourage a new crusade and refers to ‘sarassinyeit ar ideon’ rather than ‘paganyeit ar sarassinyeit’. This adds a further layer to the issue of labelling their opponents by adding Jews to the confusion.⁶⁵ Indeed, the note added on the margin of this entry is even more problematic, since it removes all reference to Saracens and only retains the reference to the Jews.

Blwydyn wedi hynny y doeth y pedriarch ogaervssalem y loegyr y geissyaw nerth y gan vrenhin lloegyr rac distrywaw holl tir kaer vssalem or sarasinyeit ar ideon. ath-racheuyn yr aeth ac amylder ovarchogyon aphedyt gyt ac ef. [margin: pan ddoeth padriarch caer ussalem i loegyr i geissyaw nerth rrac yr iddeon.]⁶⁶

A year after that, the Patriarch came from Jerusalem to England to seek help from the king of England, lest the Saracens and the Jews should harry all the land of Jerusalem. And he went back with a multitude of knights and foot soldiers along with him.⁶⁷

Thomas Jones does not translate the marginal rubric, which is in red and appears to be in the hand of the main scribe. The translation is: ‘The patriarch of Jerusalem came to England to get help against the Jews’, and while it may be tempting to dismiss this as an error made by an ignorant chronicler or scribe, such an interpretation is hampered by the fact that the same phenomenon occurs elsewhere in Welsh sources.⁶⁸ In the poem entitled ‘Mawl i Dduw a Dafydd ab Owain’ (‘Praise to God and Dafydd ab Owain’), Elidir Sais (active 1195–c. 1246) also refers to Jews in the context of the taking of Jerusalem.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ *Ideon* as the term for Jews appears to be used in a New Testament, or contemporary contexts in Welsh, whereas in Old Testament contexts *efrei* (‘Hebrews’) is also attested; in a poem by Prydydd y Moch for instance; *Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn*, ed. by Jones and Jones, pp. 42–44, l. 8; see also *TYP*², pp. 123.

⁶⁶ *ByT*: *Pen.* 20, pp. 129–30.

⁶⁷ *ByT*: *Pen.* 20 *tr.*, p. 72.

⁶⁸ My translation. For a discussion, see also Boyd, ‘Celts Seen as Muslims’, pp. 25–26, who refers also to *Bown*.

⁶⁹ *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd a’i Ddisgynyddion*, ed. by Caerwyn Williams, p. 336. This is one of two medieval Welsh poetic sources listed by Falileyev as relevant to the crusades; ‘Review of Kathryn Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*’, p. 90. A third potentially relevant poem, ‘Ymarwar Llud bychan’ from the Book of Taliesin, is discussed below, pp. 157–159.

E'r Tat kyuarchaf (rôydaf vy Reen)	
Ac y'r Mab a'r Yspryt gloewuryt Glan.	
Nyt traôd y'n couyeu can ym kyfun,	
Nyt reit ynn ameu llyfreu llen.	
Y Grist y canaf, ar ureint canon,	5
Keinwaôt o'm tauaôt ar draethaôt drôn.	
Llathreit vy mardeir wedy Myrdin,	
Llethrit a berit o beir awen.	
Barochel uchel vch eglylon,	
Bard vydaf y Dyô hyt tra vôyf dyn.	10
Archaf nawd Mab Meir, creir credadun,	
Creaôdyr, Amheraôdyr, Llywyaôdyr llawen,	
Rac oerwern gethern uffern aphan,	
Afleu anodeu lle anodun.	
Lleha vi, Dovyd huenyd hyn,	15
(Llawer a wna Duô yr dynyadon)	
Rôyf nef a dayar, rac taeruar tan,	
Y rông dy dwylaô rac dy deulin.	
Gorugost wormes (ny'th warafun)	
Goruaôr Duô goruot o Idewon	20
Am ved Crist: Creaôdyr nef, ys aghen!	
Ys agkreiff agkret yn y gylchyn.	
Tros eluyd y'n byd (bit yn erwan)	
Treis Ierusalem gan Syladin.	
Ac eil dirgleis treis traô a Dygen	25
Y'm digaôn galar o'm kar katkôn,	
Dôyn Dauyd o'e dut ac o'e diryon,	
Dyfryded diraôr hil maôr Maelgôn.	
Nyt ymteu Gôyned am y gôynuan:	
Neut amdôll awyr, neut hôyr hinon.	30
Gallaf y'th garaf y'th gaer urden,	
Gelli itt pob defnyd, vroyd Vrenhin;	
Kan wyt Tri, nyt reit itt amgen,	
Kan wyt Deu (pell godeu ac Un). ⁷⁰	
I greet the Father (my most generous Lord)	
And the Son and the glorious Holy Spirit.	
There is no perversity in our thoughts because we are in unity.	
There is no need to doubt learned books.	
To Christ I sing according to the canon,	5

⁷⁰ *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd a'i Ddisgynyddion*, ed. by Caerwyn Williams, p. 336. (I have removed the editorial comma after *goruot*).

Fine poetry from my tongue in fair utterance.
 Splendid are my bardic words in the manner of Merlin
 Brilliance has been created from the cauldron of poetry.⁷¹
 Sublime avoiding of evil above angels,
 I will be a poet of God as long as I am a man. 10
 I beg the patronage of the Son of Mary, a holy thing for a believer.
 Creator, Emperor, happy Ruler,
 against the fiends' cold slough of the pain of hell,
 the place of hell is not a place where one would intend to go
 Place me, splendid Lord of elders, 15
 (Much does God do for mankind)
 Ruler of heaven and earth, away from the harsh and raging fire,
 Between Your two hands, before Your two knees.
 You brought about oppression (it does not hold you back)
 most great victorious God, on account of the Jews 20
 [OR you brought about oppression (it does not hold you back)
 most great God, namely victory by the Jews] [20]
 around [OR on account of] the grave of Christ, Creator of heaven
 (it is necessary).
 It is a disgrace that the unbelievers be around it.
 Across the world the taking of Jerusalem by Saladin
 it affects us (let there be strife)⁷².
 Very similar is the terrible violence yonder at Dygen; 25
 it makes me sick for my fellow warriors that
 Dafydd is taken from his people and his lands,
 a bitter sorrow for the mighty lineage of Maelgwn.
 Gwynedd will not silence its moaning:
 The air is perforated, the fine weather is not yet come. 30
 I can assert that I love your exalted city,
 You have control over each element, King of lands;
 For you are Three, no need for other,
 For you are Two (far-reaching purpose), and One.

The choice of *Idewon* in line 20 might be due partly to metrical and rhyme constraints, as the poem employs the *proest* rhyme-scheme, with line endings in vowel + *n*.⁷³ However, such a use of the term implies the possibility of associating Jews with Saracens in this context (several lines later, Saladin is named).

⁷¹ Cauldron of poetry is a metaphorical expression for 'poetic gift'.

⁷² Line 23 could be interpreted as either underlining the distance between the events being recounted, or as negating the importance of that distance.

⁷³ For more on this rhyme form, see Williams, *Introduction to Welsh Poetry*, p. 235.

The association of Jews with the taking of Jerusalem in both the 1185 entry in *Brut y Tywysogion* and in a poetic work suggests the presence of a crusade discourse where this association was being made explicitly.

This poem, which may be tentatively dated to 1194×1203, appears to deal with the final episodes of Dafydd ap Owain Gwynedd's exile from Wales, and may be connected with the series of events that led to the poet's own English exile.⁷⁴ If this supposition is correct, it would place the composition of the poem within twenty years of the events described in the 1185 entry. It is possible that Elidir Sais, like his patron, was in Northern Wales when the archbishop visited it and may well have been exposed to the associated preaching.⁷⁵ This poem may well be exhibiting the influences resulting from this exposure. The reference to the Jews and the parallel drawn between the Holy Land and Wales is similar to that seen in the slightly earlier *Vita Griffini filii Conani*.⁷⁶ In this text the significance of the reference is different, however, as Gruffudd's 'liberation' of Gwynedd (12. 8) is compared to Judas Maccabeus's deliverance of Israel from pagans, and thus the Welsh are associated with (Old Testament) Jews rather than (New Testament) Jews being identified with pagans.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, representation which could be argued to belong to the latter type features in the Welsh version of the *Vita, Historia Gruffudd vab Kynan*, which adds a reference to Jews in the discussion of the men of Gwynedd escaping 'rhag ofyn yr Iddewon, nit amgen, y Ffreink a chenedloedd ereill' ('for fear of the Jews, namely the French and other peoples'), identifying the French as the (probably New Testament) Jews.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ See Hurlock, 'Counselling the Prince', and Lewis, 'Elidir Sais'; entry for Dafydd in Carr, 'Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd (d. 1170)'. For a contemporary account of the events, see Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, II. 8, ed. by Dimock, p. 134 (trans. by Thorpe, p. 193).

⁷⁵ Gerald specifies that the archbishop's party stayed a night at Rhuddlan on the Clwyd, where Dafydd himself played host to them. If Elidir Sais was with his patron at the time, he is likely to have been exposed to the preaching. That there was preaching at Rhuddlan is a reasonable assumption to make, since Gerald states that many were persuaded to take the cross on the morning following the archbishop's arrival, whereupon the company set off for St Asaph; Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, ed. by Dimock, p. 137 (trans. by Thorpe, p. 196). It is highly probable that Dafydd himself would have been present at the preaching, since the local ruler's presence appears to have been expected; for instance, see *Itinerarium*, ed. by Dimock, pp. 112–13 (trans. by Thorpe, p. 171).

⁷⁶ *Vita Griffini*, ed. by Russell, pp. 46–47.

⁷⁷ *Vita Griffini*, ed. by Russell, pp. 62–63, and pp. 48–49 for discussion of biblical references.

⁷⁸ *Historia Gruffud*, ed. by Evans, p. 24 ll. 21–22; *Medieval Prince of Wales*, ed. and trans. by Evans, p. 77; discussed in *Vita Griffini*, ed. and trans. by Russell p. 49.

Another reference which seems to conflate or identify the Jews with another people, possibly Saracens, and possibly in a crusading context, is present in the 'Ymddiddan Taliesin ac Ugnach' ('Conversation of Taliesin and Ugnach') in Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Peniarth 1, the Black Book of Carmarthen (s. xiii^{med}).⁷⁹ This poem is a conversation between two riders, of whom one is identified as Taliesin and the other a character going by the name of Ugnach son of Mydno.⁸⁰ In the course of the conversation, Ugnach enquires of Taliesin where he had been and invites him to his home. Taliesin replies 'Ban duaw o caer seon | o imlat ac itewon. | it aw caer lev a gwidion' ('I come from Caer Seon | From battle with Jews | I go to Caer Leu and Gwidion').⁸¹ Several different interpretations have been proposed for these lines.⁸² Each interpretation has significant implications for the dating of the poem (or, indeed, vice versa, the interpretation of the lines hinges on the date ascribed to their composition). While it may not be possible to offer a definitive conclusion to the debate, it can be suggested that the similarities between this poem and the late-twelfth and early-thirteenth-century sources quoted above argue in favour of Graham Isaac's interpretation of the 'Ymddiddan' as crusade propaganda, interpreting *Caer Seon* as Zion.⁸³ If the 'Ymddiddan' were supposed to have been composed in the same cultural milieu as 'Mawl i Dduw', it would be possible to suggest that the attitude they display is caused by a common element: exposure to Archbishop Baldwin's 1188 tour. If the origins of the poem, like those of the Black Book itself, were to be traced to Carmarthen, the discourse shared with Elidir Sais and *Brut y Tywysogion* could be explained by the poet's exposure to the preaching of the 1188 tour or to its aftermath.⁸⁴

To conclude this part of the discussion, the context of the 1188 preaching tour outlined above may well provide the explanation for the presence of the apparent strange association of Jews with the taking of Jerusalem in all three of the sources under consideration. One could further suggest that the imagery

⁷⁹ Poem 36, *Llyfr Du*, ed. by Jarman, p. 75. The poem has recently been discussed in Isaac, 'Ymddiddan Taliesin ac Ugnach' and Falileyev, 'Why Jews?'

⁸⁰ For a discussion of this character, see Falileyev, 'Why Jews?', pp. 86–88.

⁸¹ *Llyfr Du*, 36, ed. by Jarman, p. 75, ll. 13–15; my translation.

⁸² See overview in Falileyev, 'Why Jews?', pp. 86, 89–91.

⁸³ Isaac, 'Ymddiddan Taliesin ac Ugnach'; for alternative interpretations of *Caer Seon*, see Falileyev, 'Why Jews?', pp. 109–16.

⁸⁴ For references to the tour passing through Carmarthen, see Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, i. 10, ed. by Dimock, pp. 80–82 (trans. by Thorpe, pp. 138–41).

may have been relatively commonplace in the official discourse surrounding the Archbishop's tour. For instance, while Gerald of Wales does not associate the fall of Jerusalem with Jews, he does invoke Israel in *De principis instructione* II. 26 when discussing the situation in the Holy Land, with the words 'speraveram enim quod ipse diebus nostris redempturus esset Israel' ('I had hoped indeed that he [= Henry II] would deliver Israel in our times').⁸⁵

Although extreme cases of transferral of the label 'Jews' onto the opponents of the crusaders in the Holy Land are not common, a blurring of the boundaries between the biblical Jews of the New Testament and contemporary Saracens, and thus the biblical and contemporary Orient of our tripartite schema, occurs often in European literature of the crusading period, such as Graindor de Douai's *Chanson d'Antioche* (ll. 205–11) which refers to the crusaders avenging the death of Christ through the expulsion of all 'pagans' from the Orient, and, indeed, from the world.⁸⁶ This attitude appears to have also been common in England and may have been equally so in Wales.⁸⁷ The author of the 'Ymddiddan', Elidir Sais, and the chroniclers seem to be following the same trend and creating a common identity for the various non-Christians, be they 'Saracen' or Jewish, as 'pagans' who oppose the crusaders. The conflation of biblical and contemporary events may originate in a blurring of chronologi-

⁸⁵ Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, ed. by Warner, p. 208; my translation. While his discussion of the fall of Jerusalem in the *Itinerarium Kambriae* does not refer to Jews as Elidir Sais's poem or the 'Ymddiddan' do, Gerald's text and Elidir's poem share certain striking features, such as references to the difficulty of understanding the judgment of God who permitted Saladin to take Jerusalem. Compare Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, ed. by Dimock, p. 13 (trans. by Thorpe, p. 74), and Elidir Sais, 'Mawl i Dduw', ll. 19–20, 24, 32 (*Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd a'i Ddisgynyddion*, ed. by Caerwyn Williams, p. 336). Both writers focus on the religious or spiritual implications of the events taking place in the Holy Land, and seek explanation in the judgment of God. The difficulty of comprehending the judgment of God is also referred to a letter of Pope Innocent's dated to 1200; see Gilchrist, 'The Lord's War', pp. 75–76.

⁸⁶ *Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. by Duparc-Quoioc, pp. 27–28; Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 121, 131, 278–79, and 317 n. 66; Akbari, 'Placing the Jews in Late Medieval English Literature'; Heng, 'The Romance of England', pp. 143, 164; Heng, *Empire of Magic*, pp. 78–91, esp. 81–82; Heng, 'Jews, Saracens, "Black Men", Tartars', pp. 255–56. Compare the sentiment of revenge expressed by Roland in the Charlemagne Cycle, discussed in Chapter 3 below, pp. 115, 119–121.

⁸⁷ Yeager, *Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative*, p. 19; for an example of his Muslim contemporaries being viewed as re-enacting the behaviour of Jews as tormentors of Christ by a Western writer, see p. 38. For more on identification of Jews with Saracens and Heretics, see Herde, 'Christians and Saracens'.

cal distinctions, a synchronism of historical representation characteristic of medieval Western European historico-geographical thought.⁸⁸

The link between the biblical and contemporary Orient is articulated in a passage where Gerald discusses current events. He uses the 'Parthians' as the link between antiquity and the present by stating that, if they had been good at arms in the past, they had not degenerated in the present.⁸⁹ This seems to be an echo of crusade encounters of the kind that we have observed in the *Gesta Ricardi*, which appears to show us first-hand Welsh experience of 'Parthians'. As we have seen, while the *Gesta Ricardi* calls the Welshman's opponent 'Parthian', in the related *Chronicle* of Ambroise he is called a 'Turk'. Both Gerald's reference to the Parthians and the two chronicles' variation in terminology echo the blurring between the historical/biblical and contemporary Orient, observed above in the interchangeability of the terms for Jews, pagans, and Saracens, and the application of these terms to other peoples (e.g. Franks as Jews in *Historia Gruffudd vab Kynan*). Note that Gerald was writing at approximately the same time as Elidir Sais, and while he does not replace Saracens with Jews in his text, as the poet does, the fact that he presents a historical perspective on the Saracens and merges them with Parthians demonstrates a similar way of thinking. Here we again witness the presence of *translatio*, which passing from the historical Orient to the contemporary Occident, leaves a contemporary Orient behind, transforming Parthians into Turks and Saracens, but also merging their identities.

The synchronization and merging of the 'pagans' into one not-quite-homogenous mass helps to create a binary opposition with the variously labelled 'crusaders', maintained in the terminology throughout *Brut y Tywysogion*. The terms used for crusaders in the Holy Land include *kristonogyon* ('Christians'), *pererinyon* ('pilgrims'), and *croessogyon* ('crusaders'). A particularly illuminating example illustrating the interchangeability of these is the entry for 1218, where all three are used in succession to describe the various actions of the crusaders in the Holy Land.⁹⁰ The chroniclers thus merge the various ethnic identities of the participants into one unit, variously identified as Christians (identified as opposed to non-Christians whom they are fighting), crusaders

⁸⁸ See the discussion of *mappae mundi* above.

⁸⁹ Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, I. 14, ed. by Warner, pp. 50–51.

⁹⁰ *ByT: Pen. 20*, pp. 179–80; *ByT: Pen. 20 tr.*, pp. 96–97: 'in that year many Crusaders went to Jerusalem [...] In that year, about the Calends of June, a host of the Christians went to the city that is called Damietta [...] And the pilgrims in ships laid siege to the tower which had been built in the middle of the river, and they took it and slew many of the Saracens and captured others.'

(as those who have taken the cross), or pilgrims (as those who have travelled to the Holy Land). Indeed, the entry for 1188, already discussed, is again a useful text because it demonstrates the transformation of the Christians into crusaders as they take the cross (*kristonogyon agymerassant ygroes*). While Hurlock may be right in saying that there was no medieval Welsh term for 'crusade' in the sense that we have no evidence in the surviving texts for an equivalent of the modern *croesgad*, the use of these terms to signify 'crusader' shows that the corresponding concept did exist.⁹¹ It also shows the process of merging the various national identities into the common identity of Christians, as the kings of France and England take the cross with their armies who are no longer differentiated and become a homogenized Christian mass (*aneiryfo luossogwyd kristonogyon*). It could be argued that this expression of a common Christian identity is an attempt to justify Welsh participation in the Third Crusade alongside the English army. As Hurlock observes, it is possible that Anglo-Welsh relations could have prevented Welshmen from joining the English on crusade in any large numbers.⁹² Note, however, that the *Gesta Ricardi* episode discussed above shows that they were, nevertheless, present, probably in fact but at least in fiction. Yet as we have seen, the *Brutiau* chroniclers show an interest in the crusades and, in their conflation of biblical and contemporary Orients, a propensity for crusading discourse echoed in works of other Welshmen (Elidir Sais and, if we chose to identify him as Welsh, Gerald).

The Cistercian authorship of the chronicles can provide an explanation for this feature. Whilst the Cistercian Order had placed a prohibition on the production of books unless approved by the General Chapter, it is also worth keeping in mind that the continual reissuance of this decree might imply a lapse in observance of this particular rule.⁹³ Indeed, it appears that the originally strict limitations set on literary activity by the General Chapter may have been relaxed by the thirteenth century.⁹⁴ The Welsh Cistercians also appear to be responsible for the transmission of much of the extant Welsh secular literature,

⁹¹ Hurlock, *Wales and Crusades*, p. 19.

⁹² Hurlock, *Wales and Crusades*, pp. 177–78.

⁹³ See Norton, 'Table of Cistercian Legislation', pp. 325, 345, 361, 369, 379.

⁹⁴ Matarasso, *The Redemption of Chivalry*, pp. 225–27; by the end of the fourteenth century vernacular Arthurian romances are even attested in monastic libraries (p. 227 n. 94). Whilst not in a literary form, Cistercian artistic interest in Arthurian narratives is attested also in the existence of embroideries containing scenes from the story of Tristan and Isolde, created at Wienhausen, a Cistercian convent in Hanover, c. 1310; see Fox-Friedman, 'King Arthur in Art', p. 386.

a subject to which we will return.⁹⁵ It could be argued that the phenomenon of grouping the various nationalities together as Christians on crusade might have been a factor of Cistercian crusade propaganda.⁹⁶ The Cistercian order is well known for its involvement in preaching the crusades on the Continent.⁹⁷ The most famous example is, perhaps, St Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), with his preaching of the Second Crusade and his subsequent involvement in the justification of its failures.⁹⁸ Pope Eugenius III (in office 1145–53), the first Cistercian pope, and Nicholas of Clairvaux (fl. 1140s/50s) show similar thinking to St Bernard's and it has been argued that their writings represent the Cistercian attitude to the crusades in the mid-twelfth century.⁹⁹ Since their involvement in crusade-related activities on the Continent was so heavy, it is unsurprising to find Cistercian involvement in crusade propaganda in Wales.¹⁰⁰ Baldwin, the Cistercian Archbishop of Canterbury, had two Welsh Cistercian abbots, John of Whitland and Seisyll of Strata Florida, in his suite on his 1188 tour.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, since in Wales the Cistercians were a major order and seem to have become involved in politics to a greater extent than their original official line on the Continent allowed, it seems probable that the Welsh Cistercians were also more involved in propagating the crusade preaching than their Continental counterparts.¹⁰² Note also that the Welsh translations of the French Charlemagne texts, most of which deal with battles against Saracens, appear to have taken shape by the middle of the thirteenth century and are preserved in manuscripts with Cistercian connections.¹⁰³ As is established below,

⁹⁵ Lloyd-Morgan, 'Crossing the Borders', p. 162.

⁹⁶ For a discussion of Cistercian involvement in Baldwin's tour, see the introduction to Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, trans. by Thorpe, pp. 25–26.

⁹⁷ For more on Cistercian involvement in crusade preaching, and the Second Crusade in particular, see Gervers, ed., *The Second Crusade*.

⁹⁸ For more on St Bernard's involvement in the Second Crusade, see Brundage, 'St Bernard and the Jurists', pp. 25–48; Kahl, 'Crusade Eschatology', pp. 35–48.

⁹⁹ Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 92–93.

¹⁰⁰ Edbury, 'Preaching the Crusade in Wales', p. 224, notes this possibility. For more on Cistercian involvement in the crusades, see, Brown, 'Cistercians in the Latin Empire', esp. pp. 64, 66, 73; and in relation to England, Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 154–55.

¹⁰¹ Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, I. 20, ed. by Dimock, p. 119 (trans. by Thorpe, p. 178); Edbury, 'Preaching the Crusade in Wales', p. 224; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 71, 77.

¹⁰² Hays, 'Welsh Monasteries', pp. 114–15.

¹⁰³ See below, pp. 85–100, 132.

the texts gained a greater emphasis on crusading in their Welsh translations and adaptations.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, the potential propagandist function of the texts of the Welsh Charlemagne Cycle, discussed below, combined with the Cistercian origin of the manuscripts in which they are preserved, and the Cistercian involvement in crusade propaganda in Wales, makes it likely that the Cistercians were involved in the translation of the texts into Welsh.¹⁰⁵ The argument that the Cistercians could not have been involved in literary activities is countered by the evidence of Welsh literary manuscripts, produced in Cistercian houses.¹⁰⁶

There appear to be indications that Baldwin's preaching tour had features introduced by Cistercians on the Continent specifically as Crusade propaganda. For instance, Baldwin's preaching of the crusade during his 1188 tour was often accompanied by mass, probably an example of what Maier describes as a link between crusade-related liturgical changes and crusade propaganda, wherein the Cistercians supported the crusades through the adaptation of liturgical practices and regular prayers for crusaders were included in their masses.¹⁰⁷ Maier traces the changes in liturgical activities and their connection to the crusades through the statutes of the Cistercian order.¹⁰⁸ To give an example of changes associated with the Third Crusade, a particular augmentation of the liturgy, decreeing that each priest of the order was to celebrate a mass in favour of crusading kings and princes, was added in 1190.¹⁰⁹ The simultaneous implementation of liturgical changes in Wales and abroad would not be surprising. As Davies notes, the Cistercian Order was an international organization that maintained close ties between its constituents, with each abbot regularly attending the chapter-general of the order at Cîteaux as well as visits being arranged annually between mother houses and daughter houses both within

¹⁰⁴ See Chapter 3 below.

¹⁰⁵ It is a long-standing debate whether the French prose work, *Queste del Saint Graal*, is an example of the use of literary material by the Cistercians to articulate their ideals; for discussions of this theory, and a bibliography, see Matarasso, *Redemption of Chivalry*; and Pratt, 'The Cistercians and the *Queste del saint Graal*'; for an edition, see *La Queste del Saint Graal*, ed. by Willingham.

¹⁰⁶ Lloyd-Morgan, 'Crossing the Borders', p. 162.

¹⁰⁷ Maier, 'Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade', pp. 639–40.

¹⁰⁸ *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis*, ed. by Canivez.

¹⁰⁹ Maier, 'Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade', p. 633, and pp. 635–36 for more on alterations and additions to Cistercian liturgies in connection to the crusading movement. Whilst too late to affect the 1188 tour, this change exemplifies Cistercian engagement with the crusading effort.

and beyond Wales.¹¹⁰ It is unsurprising, therefore, to find that their activities were similar in Wales and on the Continent. The involvement of the Cistercians in crusade preaching in Wales may to some extent explain both the unificatory terminology used for crusaders in the chronicles and also the presence in these chronicles of entries that concern crusader activities in the Holy Land but that seem to have no relation to Wales.

One final note that remains to be made in relation to monastic involvement in the preaching of the crusades in Wales is the possible role of the mendicant orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, who came to challenge the Cistercian dominance in Wales towards the end of the thirteenth century, and who were equally involved in preaching the crusades on the Continent.¹¹¹ The possibility of their participation in crusade propaganda in Wales, while beyond the limitations of the present volume, is a worthwhile subject to consider, albeit since the dominant trend has been to assign the surviving materials to Cistercian houses, it is difficult to judge the part that may have been played by other orders.¹¹² While the lateness of their appearance on the scene takes them beyond the bounds of the present book, it is possible that the mendicant orders played a role in propagating the crusades in Wales after the mid-thirteenth century.¹¹³

The only peculiarity of *Brut y Tywysogion* that Cistercian involvement in their production does not explain is the absence of any reference to the 1188 preaching tour of Archbishop Baldwin.¹¹⁴ Since Baldwin is not altogether absent from the chronicles, the reason for the omission of any reference to the tour is unclear.¹¹⁵ A suggestion of ignorance would be untenable, considering the tour's wide coverage.¹¹⁶ It may be that awareness of Baldwin's tour was sufficiently widespread for the compiler to assume knowledge on the part of the

¹¹⁰ R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*, pp. 199–200.

¹¹¹ R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*, pp. 201–02; Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*.

¹¹² R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*, pp. 200, 202.

¹¹³ R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*, pp. 201–02.

¹¹⁴ Note that the *Annales* mention Baldwin's tour. The stress in the entry appears to be on the preaching, which is mentioned twice, alongside a reference to the many signed with the cross; *Annales Cambriae*, ed. by Williams ab Ithel, p. 56.

¹¹⁵ His participation in the Third Crusade and subsequent death are recorded; see *ByT: Pen.* 20, pp. 132–33; *ByT: Pen.* 20 tr., p. 74; *ByT: RB*, pp. 172–73.

¹¹⁶ For the itinerary, see the introduction to Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, trans. by Thorpe, pp. 30–36.

audience and that the entry for 1188 implies a reference to the tour through its mention of Baldwin. Yet this, too, seems an unlikely explanation since the role of chronicles was to record events, whether they were widely known or not. The third possibility is that the tour was not regarded as an important event in Wales at the time and was not deemed worthy of note in the chronicle kept at Strata Florida. Yet the presence of other references to Baldwin in the chronicles makes this supposition untenable. It is equally unlikely that the silence about the tour was due to the English focus of the event with the Archbishop of Canterbury at the centre, since many events concerning the English monarchs are noted in *Brut y Tywysogion*.¹¹⁷ The chronicler(s) sometimes even express sentiments of admiration or praise for the English monarchs.¹¹⁸ However, the Archbishop's comprehensive circuit of Wales was interpreted by some contemporaries as an assertion of Canterbury's supremacy over the Welsh church, even if it was viewed by others as an attempt to escape pressures exerted on him by the pope, Clement III (in office 1187–91).¹¹⁹ On the other hand, as we have seen, the Cistercian Order in Wales, to which the chronicler(s) presumably belonged, appears in general to have shown support for the tour. This conflict of interests: Welsh versus Cistercian, might be the reason for the chroniclers' reticence regarding the events of 1188. I would like to suggest tentatively that the entry as it stands may represent an attempt on the part of the chroniclers to avoid the problem by referring to Baldwin alongside the kings of England and France, but without reference to his tour and by using a general term of *kristonogyon* to cover all those who took the cross, regardless of their nationality.

¹¹⁷ See, for instance, *ByT: Pen.* 20, pp. 25–26, 30–31, 39; *ByT: Pen.* 20 *tr.*, pp. 19, 22, 27; *ByT: RB*, pp. 32–33, 40–41, 50–51.

¹¹⁸ See, for example, the comments on William I of England; *ByT: Pen.* 20, p. 23; *ByT: Pen.* 20 *tr.*, p. 18; *ByT: RB*, pp. 30–31.

¹¹⁹ It is not only Baldwin's contemporaries who interpret the tour as an assertion of supremacy, see, for example, the introduction to Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, trans. by Thorpe, p. 26; R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*, p. 191; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 71–72, Edbury, 'Preaching the Crusade in Wales', pp. 228–29. The view that Baldwin's tour was intended as a statement of Canterbury's supremacy is supported by the fact that he celebrated Mass in all Welsh cathedrals; R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*, p. 191. Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, p. 22, suggests that the view of the tour as an assertion of Canterbury's supremacy is the reason for the chroniclers' silence. There was even direct opposition to the visit from the canons of St David's, for example; Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, I, 1, ed. by Dimock, p. 15 (trans. by Thorpe, pp. 76–77); Hurlock, 'Power, Preaching and the Crusades', p. 96.

To conclude, as has been shown in the present chapter, the historical sources demonstrate both a Welsh interest in, and Welsh travel to the Holy Land within the crusade framework and thus reflect engagement with the contemporary Orient. For example, Gerald's narrative suggests that Archbishop Baldwin's tour of 1188 elicited a positive response. Although the numbers given by Gerald are not necessarily reliable, Welsh archers were used by the kings of England in their armies and it is reasonable to assume that at least some of the Welsh archers mentioned by Gerald joined the crusade.¹²⁰ Furthermore, since the reference in the *Gesta Ricardi* is specifically to a Welsh archer, *Marcaduc*, who is referred to as participating in the siege of Acre during the Third Crusade, we may consider this as independent evidence pointing in the same direction.

The influence of the preaching tour on Welsh imagination can be observed in texts produced in Wales in the following period. The discourse identifying (or confusing) Jews, 'Saracens', and pagans and using biblical terms in relation to contemporary events (and thus conflating the biblical and contemporary Orients), which is a feature of much of the European writing at the time of the crusades, appears in the *Brutiau*, the poetry of Elidir Sais, and, to some extent, the work of Gerald of Wales. The common element connecting all three sources is the preaching tour of 1188 and the Cistercian agency of that tour. It is likely that Elidir Sais witnessed the tour and was exposed to its preaching and the associated crusading discourse. Gerald of Wales certainly did and was. Meanwhile, the chroniclers compiling and copying the *Brutiau* belonged to the Cistercian order which, as has been demonstrated, was heavily involved not only in crusade preaching but more specifically in the 1188 tour itself. The omission of all mention of the tour in *Brut y Tywysogion* is therefore all the more striking, and it may well be due to the controversial issue of the time regarding the supremacy of Canterbury versus the see of St David's.¹²¹ The preaching was finely organized, in that rulers came to meet the archbishop, and, although support

¹²⁰ See A. Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace*, p. 47; and Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe*, pp. 118–19. As Edbury notes, it is likely that Henry II would have wished to recruit Welsh archers for his crusade as he had used them in the past and was to employ them later in his reign; Edbury, 'Preaching the Crusade in Wales', p. 231.

¹²¹ Gerald himself was involved in the attempts to make the see of St David's an archbishopric (with the aim of becoming its archbishop); Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, pp. 44–53. See also M. Richter, *Giraldus Cambrensis*, pp. 53–54, 87, 91, 99–124; M. Richter, 'Professions of Obedience', pp. 210–12; Pryce, 'Gerald's Journey', p. 24. For more on the attempts of the Welsh Church to gain independence, see Richter, 'Canterbury's Primacy'; *Speculum Duorum*, ed. by Lefèvre and Huygens and trans. by Dawson, pp. xxv–xxviii.

may not have been unanimous, awareness of the crusade, and the associated terminology and way of thinking, was spread to an unprecedented degree by the mere undertaking of this tour. Beyond information on the possible routes by which eye-witness information regarding the Orient could have reached Wales, this chapter has evaluated Welsh exposure to contemporary crusading concerns and ways of thinking about the Orient. The following chapter examines the form taken by these ways of thinking in literary and pseudo-historical material imported into Wales.

LEGEND: THE CHARLEMAGNE MATERIAL IN WALES

Transmission and Cultural Context

The ambiguous pseudo-historical and semi-fictional nature of Geoffrey's *Historia regum* raises the issue of the role of fictional narrative in expressing and formulating attitudes towards the Orient. Whilst fictional narratives, even those presented as history, such as the Welsh Charlemagne Cycle, cannot be said to contain accurate information regarding the Orient, they served as vehicles for dominant modes of expression for the attitudes current at the time.¹ In the case of the Welsh Charlemagne Cycle, the texts represent crusading discourse of the type already examined in previous chapters, in application within the framework of literature. Whilst the Cycle is composed entirely of translated material, the number of manuscripts in which it survives attests to its popularity and makes it an important source specifically for the Welsh attitudes to the Orient, and its relevance is primarily, as shall be seen in the discussion below, for the contemporary Orient.²

¹ The Welsh texts have been edited by S. J. Williams and translated by R. Williams, with the exception of the *Pererindod*, which is translated by J. Rhys. A more recent edition and translation of one of these texts is *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon. Earlier editions include *Sechs Bearbeitungen*, ed. by Koschwitz, pp. 1–18. For the French and Latin originals, some of the existing editions are *Le voyage de Charlemagne*, ed. by Aebischer; *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. by Dufournet; *Historia Karoli*, ed. by Meredith-Jones; *Turpini Historia*, ed. by Castets; *Codex Quartus Sancti Jacobi*, ed. by Thoron; *The Pseudo-Turpin*, ed. by Smyser; and *Otinell*, ed. by Guessard and Michelant.

² There are ten manuscripts, according to Rejhon, which contain the Welsh Charlemagne

In the course of transmission and translation, a number of initially distinct texts were brought together into a single Cycle, unified through structural changes (the separation of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* into two parts to frame the rest of the narrative) and the introduction of additional religious and crusading themes.³ The increased religious aspect is best illustrated by one of the transitional passages introduced by the Welsh compilers to link texts in the Cycle:

O hynn allan y traetha Turpin o weithretoed Chyarlys yn yr Yspaen, ac o enw Duw a Iago Ebostol; ual y darestyngwyt y wlat honno y gret Grist. Ac ual y bu y kyfrangeu hynny y peris Turpin eu hysgriennv yn Lladin, ac ual y daallei bawb wynt o'r aë gwelei o genedloed agkyfyeith (a hynny oll yn enw Chyarlys ar uolyant ac anryded idaw, ac amherawdyr Ruuein a Chorstinabyl) — y gwyr a uassei yn kyt oessi ac ef yn y kyfrangeu hynny, ac yn kymryt gwelïoed a gouut yndunt oc eu dechreu hyt eu diwed — ol yn ol yn dosparthus ual y buant; ac y dichawn pawp wybot o'r aë darlleo neu aë gwrando na oruc ef dim yn orwac, namyn perued y wiryoned, wedy eu dyall o yspydawl gyghoreu a berthynant ar uolyant Crist, a llewenyd egylyon nef; lles y eneideu y Cristonogyon aë gwarandawo.⁴

From this forth Turpin treats of the deeds of Charles in Spain and of the name of God and the apostle James, how that country was reduced to the faith of Christ, and how those battles happened which Turpin ordered to be described in Latin and so as to be understood by everybody who should see them among nations of

material: four of them are earlier in date than the WB, which suggests, as noted by Huws, that the Cycle was already widely circulated in the early fourteenth century; *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, p. 1; *MWM*, p. 246. The manuscripts are: NLW, MSS Cwrtmawr 2 (1543), Llanstephan 148 (s. xvii), Peniarth 5 (WB), Peniarth 7 (s. xiii/xiv), Peniarth 8a and 8b (s. xiii/xiv), Peniarth 9, Peniarth 10, Peniarth 183 (1582–86), RB; *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, pp. 2–6, 8–13, 14–20; *MWM*, pp. 58–60, 62, 227–68; R. Williams, 'The History of Charlemagne', p. 70 n. 2. Rejhon also notes that three manuscripts certain to have contained the Welsh Charlemagne material appear to have been lost: Hengwrt 10, Hengwrt 20, and Hengwrt 44; *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, pp. 20–21. See also R. Williams, 'The History of Charlemagne', p. 70 n. 2, and *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, pp. xl–xlii. S. J. Williams separates the manuscript tradition of the Cycle into four groups of manuscripts, which contain different combinations of the texts (pp. xl–xli). A possible echo of the Charlemagne legend can be found in a reference to an *Oliffer* in 'Marwnad Maredudd ab Owain' of Prydydd Bychan, l. 21; see *Gwaith y Prydydd Bychan*, ed. by Owen, p. 104.

³ There are other texts relating to Charlemagne, differently grouped, surviving from the Middle Ages, which were not translated into Welsh. Examples of these include collections of verse chansons concerning Charlemagne, identified by Zink, such as the 'Geste du Roi'; Zink, *Littérature française du Moyen Âge*, pp. 76–77. In the present discussion the term Charlemagne Cycle is reserved for the Welsh collection.

⁴ *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 204.

another language; and all that [was done] in the name of Charles in praise and honour to him and the emperor of Rome and Constantinople, the men who lived in his time, [and were with him] in those battles receiving wounds and pain in them, all [of which are related] from beginning to end in succession and in order as they happened and so that whoever reads or hears them may understand, that every thing he did was not in frivolity but in the middle of truth, as it was understood through spiritual counsels appertaining to the praise of Christ, the joy of the angels of heaven, and the edification of the Christians who listen to them.⁵

This passage not only underlines the amplification of the crusading and religious trends which serve to bind the texts of the Cycle together but also emphasizes the intentionality of these changes. It ends on the reference to the edification of the audience. Rhys's translation does not do justice to the original text here, which refers to *lles y eneideu*, the 'benefit for the souls' of whatever Christians who might listen (*sc.* to these texts being read out loud). Unlike the original texts, all of which (perhaps apart from the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, with its pretensions of historicity and associations with pilgrimage and the cult of St James) were primarily intended as entertainment literature, the function of the Welsh Cycle appears to be predominantly religious, and the reference to the listeners suggests a performative aspect and perhaps also a wider audience (not least for the logistical reasons of more people being able to listen to a text being read than to crowd around a book). The stress on truth over frivolity and on spiritual counsel also points to monastic authorship of the passage — its author seems to have been a proponent of crusading ideals since he refers to the conversion of Spain rather than conquest. Finally, the reference to the text's composition in Latin in order that it could be understood by people of many nations seems to imply a mind used to contemplating, and perhaps creating, international Latinate texts, or at least a mind keenly aware of the possibility of international audiences. There emerges an image of a monastic agent at work, who is not only interested in the salvation of souls and in the crusades, but also belongs to an international order. Given the evidence examined in relation to the *Brutiau* and Gerald's *Itinerarium* above, the best candidate would be amongst the most likely agents of crusade propaganda in Wales: the Cistercians. The importance of these indications can be appreciated if one considers the current theories of the Cycle's transmission.

The Cycle consists of texts which were, like *Delw y byd*, translated and imported into Wales. For each of the texts comprising the Cycle, originals are

⁵ *History of Charlemagne*, trans. by Rhys, pp. 38–39.

preserved, as well as, in some cases, translations into other languages, such as Middle English, Old Norse, and Irish.⁶ The Cycle consists of:

1. *Cronicl Turpin* (*Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*), translation of the Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle, otherwise known as *Turpini historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*
2. *Rhamant Otuel* (*Romance of Otuel*), translation of *Otinell*
3. *Cân Rolant* (*Song of Roland*), translation of the *Chanson de Roland* (henceforth referred to as *Roland*)
4. *Pererindod Siarlymaen* (*Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*), translation of *Le pèlerinage de Charlemagne*

The entirety of the Welsh Cycle is in prose. However, it is worth noting that *Otinell*, *Roland*, and the *Pèlerinage* were all composed in French and in verse, while the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* was written in Latin prose, purporting to be an eye-witness account. The *Chronicle* was composed probably around 1140 as the fourth book of the *Liber sancti Jacobi*, a mid-twelfth-century compendium of material intended to encourage the cult of St James and pilgrimage to Compostela, connecting it from the outset to ideas of pilgrimage and religious endeavour.⁷ The story narrated in the *Chronicle* concerns Charlemagne's reconquest of Spain and encompasses the Roncesvalles episode known from the *Roland*. The great number of surviving manuscripts of the Latin version and the existence of translations attests to the popularity of this narrative in the Middle Ages.⁸

⁶ See *Karlamagnus saga*, ed. by Unger; Foote, *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*; Foote, 'A Note on the Source of the Icelandic Translation'; Aebischer, *Les versions norroises*. For some of the English Charlemagne romances, see *The sege off Melayne*, the *Lyf of the Noble and Crysten Prynce, Charles the Grete*, and *Taill of Rauf Coilyear*, all edited by Herrtage; *Firumbras*, ed. by O'Sullivan. For a discussion of the two fragments of the Middle English romance *Charlemagne and Roland* and its manuscripts, see Smyser, 'Charlemagne and Roland'. For the Irish translations of the Charlemagne material, see Marstrander, 'Sechrán Na Banimpire', p. 161, and *Gabbáltas Serluis Mhóir*, ed. by Hyde.

⁷ Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 140, 150; J. J. Duggan, *A Guide to Studies on the Chanson de Roland*, p. 38.

⁸ The number of manuscripts of the text now known is about three hundred; see Fudeman, 'These Things I Will Remember', p. 5; *Historia Karoli*, ed. by Meredith-Jones, pp. 5–32; Chance, 'Imagining Empire', p. 195. The early French translations are discussed in Spiegel, 'Pseudo-Turpin'. For a discussion of the early-thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman version, see Noonan, 'An Anglo-Norman Version of the Pseudo-Turpin'.

Otinel, which provides the second text in most manuscripts of the Cycle, is primarily concerned with the conversion of a Saracen warrior named Otinel (alternatively Otuel) to Christianity, and with his subsequent exploits. Two versions of the original text survive in three manuscripts: an Old French version in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. Lat. 1616 (Brittany, possibly Saint-Brieuc; s. xiv), and an Anglo-Norman version in Cologny-Geneva, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana 168 (c. 1300), formerly known as Thomas Phillips Library, Middlehill MS 8345; a fragment of the Anglo-Norman text also survives in Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. fr. 5094 (s. xiii^{med.}).⁹ The French romance appears to date from the first half of the thirteenth century.¹⁰ According to Erich Poppe, the Welsh version of the text, as also the Old Norse, follow the text of the Paris manuscript.¹¹

Cân Rolant represents the translation of the most famous, perhaps, of the Charlemagne narratives.¹² The story it relates overlaps, as has already been

⁹ Calkin, *Saracens and the Making of English Identity*, p. 18; R. Williams, 'The History of Charlemagne', p. 56; *Otinel*, ed. by Guessard and Michelant, pp. x–xii; Busby, *Codex and Context*, II, 508. It has been suggested that the Welsh text of *Otuel* is closer to that of the Middlehill manuscript; R. Williams, 'The History of Charlemagne', p. 57. The fragment is edited in Langlois, 'Deux fragments épiques'.

¹⁰ *Otinel*, ed. by Guessard and Michelant, p. viii; Duffic, 'Fierabras, le Roman de Otinel', p. 71. Jacques Monfrin's report on lectures given on the text in 1981–82 at the École pratique des hautes études suggests it dates from the twelfth century; Monfrin, 'Philologie Romane', p. 139. There is also suggestion of a later date, second half of the thirteenth century; R. Williams, 'The History of Charlemagne', p. 56. S. J. Williams and later Rejhon have argued that the manuscript evidence points to *Otuel* being a late addition to the Cycle; *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. xxxviii; *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, pp. 1, 24; see also Poppe, 'Charlemagne in Wales and Ireland', p. 172.

¹¹ Poppe, 'Charlemagne in Wales and Ireland', p. 173.

¹² The original is preserved in only nine medieval manuscripts. BnF, MS fr. 860 (s. xiiiⁱⁱ); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 23 (s. xii); Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, membr. Gall. IV (s. xivⁱ) and VII (s. xiii^{ex}); the Versailles manuscript; Châteauroux, Bibliothèque municipale de Châteauroux, B 225 (s. xiii^{ex}); Lyon, Bibliothèque de la Ville de Lyon, MS 384 (s. xiv); Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.32 (s. xv^{ex}); Lorraine fragments, known as the Michelant fragments (s. xiiiⁱ), now BnF, nov. acq. fr. 5327 and Lavergne fragments, now BnF, nouv. acq. fr. 14658 (s. xiii^{ex}). Of these several are mentioned in *Chanson*, ed. by Gautier, II, 2; information about the rest is from Burger, *Turolde poète de la fidélité*, pp. 9–10, and Reynolds, 'A New Look at the Biblioteca Marciana', p. 209. According to Taylor, the Versailles manuscript and the Châteauroux manuscript are one and the same, see Taylor, *Textual Situations*, p. 220 n. 11. For the Cambridge manuscript, see <<http://sites.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=1387>> [accessed 16 April 2014]. For Digby 23, Dufournet (*La Chanson de Roland*, p. 24) gives the dates as 1170–80, following Keller, *Autour de Roland*, p. 79. For the Lorraine fragments, see Busby, *Codex and Context*, II, 550.

observed, with the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* and it is, in the Welsh version, encased within the framework of the chronicle. Of the original, the text as we know it was composed around 1100, or to be more precise, 1087×1095 in its early version, although an earlier, tenth/eleventh-century version (now lost) may have also existed.¹³ In terms of the history and origins of the text, it appears that Turolde, who is credited with the creation of the Oxford version, was an Anglo-Norman.¹⁴ The Welsh text seems to be close to the Oxford version, and also to the Franco-Italian text preserved in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, membr. Gall. IV.¹⁵ The popularity of the Roland legend in the Middle Ages is attested by the numerous literary references to Roland and Roncesvalles and by the large number of attestations for the personal names Roland and Oliver.¹⁶

The *Pèlerinage* relates a legendary voyage made by Charlemagne to Jerusalem and Constantinople, the impetus for which is provided by a comparison between Charlemagne and the emperor of Constantinople made by Charlemagne's queen.¹⁷ In Jerusalem, Charlemagne is given many precious rel-

¹³ The rhymed *Roland* appears to date to c. 1180, and to have been composed at the court of Henry II; *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. by Dufournet, pp. 15–16; Zink, *Littérature française du Moyen Âge*, pp. 76, 85; Burger, *Turolde poète de la fidélité*, p. 62; the latter volume has been reviewed by Viellard. It is possible that it was the lost earlier version that was, as claimed by William of Malmesbury, sung at the Battle of Hastings; Zink, *Littérature française du Moyen Âge*, p. 88; Gilbert, 'The Chanson de Roland', p. 23; *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. by Dufournet, pp. 24–25; see also Dufournet, *Cours sur la Chanson de Roland*, pp. 32–33.

¹⁴ *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. by Dufournet, p. 17. Note, however, that Bédier admits that it does not seem possible to localise the origin of the text linguistically due to the absence of dialectal features; Bédier, *La Chanson de Roland*, pp. 241 and 250–51.

¹⁵ Poppe, 'Charlemagne in Wales and Ireland', p. 173.

¹⁶ For a detailed list, see Taylor, 'Was There a Song of Roland?', pp. 28–29, esp. nn. 2 and 3; *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. by Dufournet, pp. 12–13.

¹⁷ This text has been known under different titles over the years: the first editor of the text, F. Michel, designated it *Charlemagne*, Duval's title for it was *Voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem*, P. Paris altered that to *Voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople*, G. Paris changed 'voyage' to 'pilgrimage' in *Chanson du Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, and from then on the titles have varied between 'voyage' and 'pilgrimage', and presence or absence of Constantinople in the title, with just one more variant worth noting, J. Coulet's *Voyage de Charlemagne en Orient*; See *Charlemagne*, ed. by Michel; Duval, 'Anonyme auteur du Voyage de Charlemagne', p. 704; P. Paris, 'Notice sur la chanson de geste intitulée', p. 198; G. Paris, 'La Chanson du Pèlerinage de Charlemagne' (*La poésie du Moyen Âge*); G. Paris, 'La Chanson du Pèlerinage de Charlemagne' (*Romania*), p. 1; Coulet, *Études sur l'ancien poème français*; other variants of the title in editions and discussions can be found in *Le voyage de Charlemagne*, ed. by Aebischer, p. 12.

ics by the Patriarch, and in Constantinople he and his knights all but destroy the domain of Hugh, the emperor of Constantinople.¹⁸ The only manuscript witness, BL, Royal 16. E. viii (s. xiii), now missing, was Anglo-Norman, and indeed, the original text itself may have been composed by an Anglo-Norman author.¹⁹ The range of dates of composition proposed for this text is 1060–1175, and it is difficult, with the lack of surviving manuscript witnesses, to narrow down that date any further.²⁰ There is an uncertainty regarding the genre of the poem and the nature and purpose of Charlemagne's voyage, as there is an apparent conflict between the two parts of the narrative — the high-genre section taking place in Jerusalem, and the low-pitched, burlesque section set in Constantinople, akin in style to the French *fabliaux*.²¹ It is therefore particularly interesting that this poem was included in the Welsh collection, where it appears to have been taken as a serious text. It is also worth noting that suggestions have been made by various scholars that the original poem may be a crusade satire, specifically of the Second Crusade.²² In the light of the increased religious and crusade focus of

¹⁸ Note that the name of the Byzantine emperor in this narrative, Hugh, is spelled variously in the different versions and discussions. The Welsh is either Huw or Hu, I will, for the sake of consistency, since I use Charlemagne and Roland throughout rather than the Welsh versions of the name, retain the French version of the name, Hugh, except for quotations.

¹⁹ The manuscript has been missing since 7 June 1879. *Le voyage de Charlemagne*, ed. by Aebischer, pp. 16–20, and n. 19; G. Paris, 'La Chanson du Pèlerinage de Charlemagne' (*Comptes-rendus des séances*), p. 432; BL Manuscripts Catalogue, online version, entry for Royal 16 E viii [accessed 19 April 2014]. Regarding authorship, see U. T. Holmes, 'The Pèlerinage de Charlemagne', p. 81.

²⁰ For a discussion, see *Le voyage de Charlemagne*, ed. by Aebischer, pp. 25–29. There have been attempts to date the poem linguistically; Duval's attempt to ascribe the *Pèlerinage* to the same period as the *Chanson de Roland* on linguistic grounds met with criticism from Paul Meyer, who argued that the *Pèlerinage* was written in the Anglo-Norman dialect, which preserved elements and forms which other French dialects had lost early on, which gives the poem the false air of age; see Duval, 'Anonyme auteur du Voyage de Charlemagne', p. 207, and Meyer, 'Review of *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*'.

²¹ L. H. Loomis, 'Observations on the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*', p. 331.

²² U. T. Holmes, 'The *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*', pp. 75–77. Wolff, 'Romania', p. 30 n. 145, lists some of the scholarship. Adler, for instance, points out that the issue of superiority between Louis VII and Manuel of Constantinople was an important one at the time, an issue that came to a head with Louis's barons being forced to do homage to Manuel; Adler, 'The *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*', pp. 550–52. It is worth noting in this connection, that Louis's queen, Eleanor, is said to have shown sympathy to the court of Constantinople, echoing the behaviour of Charlemagne's queen. This could be seen as an inspiration of the rivalry story between Charlemagne and the Emperor of Constantinople.

the texts in the Cycle it is tempting to suggest that the inclusion of this narrative in the collection is due to this crusading connection.

The purpose of the discussion of these texts here is not to establish a relationship between the French and Welsh texts, but rather to highlight some of the differences in the representation of and attitudes to the Orient between the French and Welsh versions. As can be seen from the difference in such features of the text as the lists of companions in the *Pèlerinage* and the *Pererindod*, for instance, there appear to be two different recensions.²³ The point of divergence can be identified neither chronologically nor geographically. Consequently we are examining a French and a Welsh version of the text. The discussion below is based on printed editions only and while the differences highlighted between the Welsh versions and the originals are likely to have been introduced in the course of translation and the creation of the unified Cycle, a possibility remains that these themes could have been already present in the versions of the texts available to the translators.

The Welsh Cycle has unique features which throw light on the cultural and intellectual milieu that produced them. The Welsh translations were artificially brought together into a single whole, in a process involving the reorganization of certain elements of some of the texts and, as has already been mentioned, the addition of bridging passages.²⁴ While this artificial whole appears to have been fairly flexible in terms of order and contents, the common feature in all of the Cycle's permutations is the use of the *Cronicl Turpin* as a frame for the narrative and its division into two parts.²⁵ The *Pererindod*, unsurprisingly perhaps, considering its uncertain genre, appears at different points in the collection in the various manuscripts, and, as Chance points out, seems not to have fitted perfectly into the rest of the translated Charlemagne material.²⁶ The order of the

²³ For the variant in question, see *Le voyage de Charlemagne*, ed. by Aebischer, pp. 33–35, and *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 181.

²⁴ See, for instance, *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, p. 102 n. 1. There is a Norse collection, *Karlamagnússaga*, which does not, however, have the same structure; see editions by Unger and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson; and Hieatt's translation; for more, see, for instance, Foote, *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*; Foote, 'A Note on the Source of the Icelandic Translation'; Aebischer, *Les versions norroises*; Hieatt, 'Karlamagnús Saga and the Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle'. There is also the possibility that a similar Middle English cycle once existed; R. Williams, 'The History of Charlemagne', pp. 72 and 87–88.

²⁵ *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, pp. 21–25.

²⁶ Chance, 'Imagining Empire', p. 186. Note that Watkin, with characteristic arbitrariness, classes the *Pèlerinage* as a *chanson de geste* alongside the *Chanson de Roland* and *Otuel*; Watkin, 'French Literary Influence', p. 13.

works in the fullest version of the Cycle is: *Cronicl Turpin* (first part), *Rhamant Otuel*, *Cân Rolant*, *Pererindod*, *Cronicl Turpin* (second part).²⁷

In order to better understand the cultural context in which the Cycle was created and its relation with the dominant discourses of the time, it is necessary to address, so far as it is possible based on the limited evidence available, the issue of the texts' transmission into Wales and the possible circumstances of their translation. Cyril Meredith-Jones has identified a branch within the manuscript tradition of the Latin *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* which appears to have been almost exclusively insular, with all but two manuscripts surviving from the British Isles.²⁸ It appears that, like *Delw y byd*, *Cronicl Turpin* derives from an insular version of a Latin text, since some of the defining features of the insular group of the Latin manuscripts are also shared by the Welsh, English, and Irish translations of the text.²⁹ In textual terms, *Cronicl Turpin* is fairly close to its Latin original, apart from some abridgment of description and the structural changes imposed by the new compilation.³⁰ Some thematic differences introduced to the texts are discussed in greater detail below, where it is shown that all the texts in the Cycle also undergo thematic changes, which appear to be linked to crusading propaganda.³¹

Some limited evidence for the date and location of at least some of the translations is given by the texts themselves, and it is on the basis of this that any theory of their transmission must be built.³² The indications are provided by three

²⁷ The order in S. J. Williams' edition is *Cronicl Turpin*, *Cân Rolant*, *Otuel*, *Pererindod*; see *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, pp. xviii–xl.

²⁸ See *Historia Karoli*, ed. by Meredith-Jones, p. 22; there is a total of seven manuscripts in this group (pp. 5, 12–14).

²⁹ Walpole, 'Note to the Meredith-Jones Edition', pp. 260–61; see also Shepherd, 'Middle English Pseudo-Turpin'.

³⁰ Chance, 'Imagining Empire', p. 197.

³¹ Watkin has suggested that *Otuel* is connected to crusading propaganda, and since similar trends can be observed for *Cân Rolant* and the other texts of the Cycle, this issue will be examined below in the context of the major unifying themes of the Cycle; Watkin, 'French Literary Influence', p. 53; note that, as Rejhon points out, Watkin provides no evidence for this contention, *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, p. 98.

³² In terms of the date of the Cycle's compilation, Watkin presents an argument for dating the translation of the *Pèlerinage*, at least, to the last quarter of the twelfth century, based on the supposition that it was translated 'before the crusading movement attained its high-water mark towards the end of the twelfth century'; Watkin, 'French Literary Influence', p. 51. The selection of the late-twelfth century as the time of greatest crusade activity appears to be based on the evidence of the 1188 preaching tour by Archbishop Baldwin; Watkin, 'French Literary

distinct colophons (the Ieuan colophon, Madawc colophon, and Reinallt colophon) associated with different texts of the Cycle.³³ In all manuscripts apart from Peniarth 8b, which does not contain them, the position of the colophons in relation to the texts remains the same despite variation in the order of the texts. It is consequently clear that particular colophons were associated with particular texts.³⁴ Table 2 below shows the association between colophons and texts in our manuscripts.

The Madawc colophon, which follows the first part of *Cronicl Turpin* (Chapter XXI), occurs only in WB, Peniarth 9, and RB and is followed by what

Influence', p. 55. This is almost equivalent to arguing from lack of evidence. Since Gerald's description of the 1188 tour is the only surviving evidence for crusade preaching in Wales, the implication is that where there is no evidence there was no preaching. This does not take into account the loss or editing of sources that may have taken place between the Middle Ages and the present day. For example, as we have seen, there is no evidence of Baldwin's tour in the *Brutiau*. Consequently, although the late twelfth century may appear on the basis of surviving evidence to be the highest point of crusade interest in Wales, this may not be true. Watkin presents no other evidence and the question of the date of this translation must remain open until ascertained by other means.

³³ For the sake of consistency, I use Annalee Rejhon's terminology for all three; cf. *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon. Note that the Ieuan colophon occurs only in Peniarth 9, where it follows the end of *Cronicl Turpin*, and concludes the entire Cycle. It relates only to the manuscript within which it is found, and is useful only insofar as it provides a firm date for the writing of the text in Peniarth 9. It as follows: 'Llyma lyuyr [...] yr hwn a ysciuenawd Ieuan yscolheic y gar ay urawtuayth. Oyt yr Arglwyd Iessu Grist vnic fab Duw a anet o Veir Wryry oyd yny kyumsser hwnnw, nyt amgen. M.CCC.XXXVI'. The gap after *lyuyr* contains several illegible words; 'Here is the book [...] which Ieuan the scholar (or clerk), his friend and brother wrote. The age of Lord Jesus Christ — only son of God who was born of the Virgin Mary — was at this time not otherwise: 1336', *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, p. 4. It is, perhaps, better translated as 'Here is the book [...] which Ieuan the scholar, his kinsman and foster-brother wrote. The age of Lord Jesus Christ, only son of God who was born of the Virgin Mary, was in that time namely 1336' (my translation). Note that according to the transcription on *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg*, the text reads 'y llyuer hwnn [...] amchweles Madauc ap Selyf avn. yr hwn a yscriuennawd Ieuan yscolheic y gar ay vravtuayth oyt yr arglwyd iessu grist vnic [...] ab duw a anet o veir wryry oyd yny kyumsser hwnnw nyt amgen MCCCXXXVOI' [accessed 28 August 2012]. It is unclear from the transcription if anything is missing or illegible between *Selyf*, which ends line 24 and *avn*, which begins line 25. I have not seen the manuscript.

³⁴ The omission in Peniarth 8b may well be due only to the lacunae in the manuscript. The manuscript is missing several folios at the end of the *Pererindod* and beginning of the *Cronicl Turpin* (possibly an entire quire), thus missing the Reinallt colophon. Note, however, that *Cronicl Turpin* continues only until Chapter XX, followed immediately by *Cân Rolant* and therefore omitting both Chapter XXI and the Madog colophon; see *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, pp. 11–12.

Annalee Rejhon terms a ‘note to Reinallt’ in the first two of the manuscripts. The Reinallt colophon follows the text of *Pererindod* in Peniarth manuscripts 7, 8a, 9, 10, WB, and RB. It is important to note that none of the colophons seems to have any association with either *Cân Rolant* or *Otuel*. Therefore, any conclusions about the process of the translation made on the basis of these colophons apply in the first instance exclusively to the *Cronicl Turpin* and the *Pererindod*.

Table 2: Colophons in the Welsh Charlemagne Cycle.

Colophon	Position	Manuscripts
Madawc	after <i>Cronicl Turpin</i> XXI	Peniarth 5 (WB) and 9, RB
‘note to Reinallt’	after ‘Madawc’	Peniarth 5 (WB) and 9
Reinallt	after <i>Pererindod</i>	Peniarth 5 (WB), 7, 8a, 9 and 10, RB
Ieuan	at end of the Cycle	Peniarth 9

The Madawc colophon is:

Ni a dyvedvn yn dived y llyuyr hvnn ar vyrder. A’r llyuyr hvnn a ymhoeles Madawc ap Selyf o Ladin yng Kymraec. O adolvyn a deissyf Gruffud ap Maredudd ap Yvein vap Gruffud ap Rys.³⁵

We shall finally state³⁶ this book briefly. And Madog ap Selyf translated this book from Latin into Welsh, by the entreaty and request of Gruffudd ap Maredudd ab Ywein ap Gruffudd ap Rhys. (my translation)

In the WB and Peniarth 9 only this is followed by the ‘note to Reinallt’:

Brenhin yr ynysoed anrededus brenhin yr ynyssed. Reinallt arderchavc, brenhin yr ynyssed kenedylavc yn tridyblyc o wyrth, a gveithret a chenedyl a myuy yn gymelledic o’th arch di y dechreueis i y gveithret hvnn. Ar yr hvnn y dodvn i teruynn pei na bei rac keryd vy anallu. Ac vrth hynny y bu devissach gennyf i adav y llyuyr hvnnv ynn anorffenn no’e ymhoelut o’th arch di o Rvmans yn Lladin. Yn yr hvnn ny chyfadena vi vy mot yn avdur namyn yn dyallvr ystoryaev. Ac vrth hynny tydy leavdyr o cheffy di yn y llyfyr hvnn dim agkredadun, nev agkyfun y’r wironed, na liva y’r golystavdyr namyn y avdur y gveithret kynntaf, cany dylyir galv yn euavc

³⁵ WB, fol. 78^r col. 80, l. 35–fol. 78^v col. 81, l. 5 <<http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/ms-page.php?ms=Pen5&page=78r>> [accessed 16 April 2014]; I have added capitalization and modernised the punctuation; cf. the RB text in *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 41.

³⁶ Lit. ‘say’.

datkanvr gev arall, namyn y neb a vo dychymygyavdyr yr avdyr kyntaf y'r gev. Ac o'r llyuyr lladin hvnnv yd ymholet hvnn yg kymraec.³⁷

King of the isles, honourable king of the isles. Excellent Reinallt, king of the national isles, of threefold value and deed and race, and I, compelled by your request to begin this work. And I would have completed it had it not been for the fault of my inability. And because of this, I preferred to leave this book unfinished, rather than to translate it at your request from Romance into Latin. In this I do not admit to being the author but an interpreter [lit. 'understander'] of stories. And because of this you the reader if you find in this book anything incredible, or incorrect to truth, do not blame the translator but the author of the first work, because a restater of the lies of another cannot be called guilty, except he who was the imaginer of, the first author of, the lies. And from that Latin book this was translated into Welsh. (my translation)

The Reinallt colophon is:

Hyt hynn y traetha ystoria a beris Reinallt urenhin yr ynyssed y athro da y throssi, o weithretoed Chyarlys, o Rwmans yn Lladin, ac amrysson a'r urenhines, ual y traethwyt uchot oll. Ac nyt ymyrrwys Turpin yn hynny, kanys gwr eglwyssic oed, ac rac gyrry arnaw beth gorwac ny pherthynei ae leindyt.³⁸

Thus far is related the history which Ronald king of the Isles caused a good scholar to translate from The Acts of Charles from Romance into Latin, and The Quarrel with the Queen as related above throughout [[as has been retold in whole above]]; but with [the writing of] the latter Turpin had nothing to do, as he was an ecclesiastical man and lest he should have forced on him an empty matter not appertaining to holiness.³⁹

The colophons provide more questions than answers. In the first place, it must be noted that unlike the Madawc colophon, which is explicitly connected with the Welsh translation process, the Reinallt colophon refers to 'Romance' (= French) and Latin, and has no explicit reference to Welsh at all. The names of Madog ap Selyf and Gruffudd ap Maredudd ab Owein ap Gruffudd ap Rhys (fl. c. 1265–c. 1319) in the Madawc colophon tie at least the first part of *Cronicl*

³⁷ WB, fol. 78^v, col. 81, ll. 6–33 <<http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/ms-page.php?ms=Pen5&page=78v>> [accessed 16 April 2014]. I have introduced punctuation.

³⁸ *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 41. This text is followed by a further passage, referring to the edification of listeners discussed at the beginning of the present chapter, which Rejhon does not note in her table; see her *Cân Rolant*, p. 23.

³⁹ *History of Charlemagne*, trans. by Rhys, p. 38; the correction in single brackets is Rhys's; that in double brackets is mine.

Turpin to Deheubarth in the second half of the thirteenth century.⁴⁰ This puts it in the company of the Athanasian Creed, translated for Gruffudd's sister Efa (fl. 1300) by Gruffudd Bola, and probably also of the Welsh version of the *Transitus Marie*, which may have also been translated by Madog ap Selyf.⁴¹

Although 'the note to Reinallt' which follows the Madawc colophon, occurs in only two manuscripts, it is the only passage which links the name of Reinallt to a text other than the *Pererindod*. The layout of this in the WB, where it starts with a three-line-tall initial, appears to indicate that this was seen as a distinct colophon from the preceding one. (Note that the Madawc colophon is not so distinguished from the preceding text.) The following text (*Otinell*) also starts with a large initial. This impedes interpretation, since, if the 'note to Reinallt' is so distinguished from both the preceding and the following texts, it is difficult to determine which of the two it relates to. The unfinished work it refers to appears to be not that of Madog, but rather the Latin exemplar. The note seems to constitute an attempt of bringing the Madawc colophon and the Reinallt colophon together.

The mysterious mention of the unfinished translation from French into Latin in the 'note to Reinallt' might refer, obscurely, to the mixed nature of the sources of the Welsh translation. In other words, the colophon could be explained by supposing the exemplar from which the texts were translated to have been bilingual. Thus, while the *Cronicl Turpin* was translated from a Latin original (mistakenly seen as a Latin translation of a French original), the texts following this colophon were translated from 'Romance' (which were seen as left un-translated by the person commissioned by Reinallt). If the texts were taken from a single multilingual volume, the collection might well have seemed to be in an incomplete state of translation, with only the first text, the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, 'translated into Latin', while the rest (possibly constituted only by the *Pèlerinage*, or by *Otuel*, which follows the 'note to Reinallt' in both manuscripts) remained in French.⁴²

⁴⁰ *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, pp. 25–27, 70–71; R. Williams, 'The History of Charlemagne', p. 34; Lloyd-Morgan, 'More Written About than Writing', p. 157.

⁴¹ L. B. Smith, 'Inkhorn and Spectacles', p. 205; Poppe, 'Charlemagne in Wales and Ireland', p. 172.

⁴² De Mandach has suggested the existence of a similar English compilation; see de Mandach, *Naissance et développement de la chanson de geste*, pp. 143, 390–91. The existence of a multilingual volume is not inconceivable. Whilst no such manuscript of the Charlemagne texts appears to have hitherto come to light, examples of multilingual compilations abound. CUL, MS Gg. 1. 1 (s. xiv), for instance, contains texts in French, Latin, and Middle English, and the table of contents for its copy of *Lumière as lais* is partially in French and partially in Latin.

A final suggestion to be made is that the 'note to Reinallt' could be misplaced, and thus now associated with a text different from the one for which it was originally composed. Whilst a theory of misplacement would not be entirely satisfactory, it must be observed that the 'note to Reinallt' is only present in two manuscripts, and that the Reinallt colophon associates Reinallt, *brenhin yr ynyssoed* with *Pererindod*, which it invariably follows in all of the manuscripts.

An examination of the colophons thus leads us to the conclusion that the *Pererindod* was (or was seen to have been) translated from French into Latin for a 'Reinallt king of the islands' (*brenhin yr ynyssoed*). The reference to Turpin in the Reinallt colophon suggests that the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* and the *Pèlerinage* were already associated at the stage. Madog translated the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* from Latin into Welsh, according to his colophon. The 'note to Reinallt' which follows the Madawc colophon in Peniarth 9 and Peniarth 5 (WB) in turn confirms the association between the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* and the *Pèlerinage*, and between Reinallt and the French to Latin translation, and also suggests that some of the work was unfinished. If the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* and the *Pèlerinage* were already associated before their translation into Welsh, as they seem to be in the Reinallt colophon, then Madog has to be credited with the translation of both.

The association of a Latin *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* and a Latin text similar in subject matter to the *Pèlerinage* narrative is also attested elsewhere. In 1206 Renaud de Dammartin, count of Boulogne (1165×1170–21 April 1227) sponsored a transcription of the French translation of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, made some time before by a 'Master Johannes', possibly Renaud's chaplain.⁴³ The work that Renaud commissioned included not only the French *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, but that version of it which included an abbreviation of the French translation of a Latin text known as the *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus clavum et coronam a Constantinopoli transtulit*, made by Pierre de Beauvais (fl. s. xiii).⁴⁴ It is notable that although Renaud commissioned only a copy of an already existing text, he claimed to have ordered a translation to be made direct from a Latin original kept at St Denis.⁴⁵ Crucially, the terminology associated

⁴³ Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, p. 71; for more on Renaud de Dammartin, see Malo, *Un grand feudataire*, esp. pp. 29 and 226 for dates.

⁴⁴ Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, p. 71; for an edition of Pierre's text, see Walpole, 'Charlemagne's Journey', pp. 445–52.

⁴⁵ Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, p. 71; see also *Old French Johannes Translation*, ed. by Walpole, II, 28.

with these translations is precisely that found in our colophons. For example, a prologue to a copy of Pierre de Beauvais's work says that he had translated it *de Latin en romans*.⁴⁶ The fact that our Welsh colophons use this terminology raises the possibility that it may have been taken directly from the foreign-language original. What is unclear, however, is what this original may have been.

According to the colophon and 'note', the mysterious Reinallt is credited with commissioning a Latin translation of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* and the *Pèlerinage*. The problem is that the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* is originally a Latin text, thus precluding any possibility of its being translated into Latin at a later stage. However, if the colophon is incorrect, then the question is why it says what it says. It is possible that the colophon was taken from an original where the terms could have referred to the writing down of a vernacular text. In our Welsh text, both terms appear to be direct borrowings from the French *romanz* and *latin*, which were usually used to indicate not only the languages French and Latin but also more generally, spoken (*romanz*) and written (*latin*) language.⁴⁷ If these common meanings lie behind our colophon, it might mean that Reinallt commissioned a writing down of the oral legend of Charlemagne's travels. On the other hand, if the words refer specifically to French and Latin, they could have originally been inverted, and referred to a translation from Latin into the vernacular, possibly French. In this case, it is highly probable that the colophon was inserted through mis-association with the *Old Johannes Pseudo-Turpin* and *Descriptio*, with their associations with Renaud of Boulogne.⁴⁸ The terminology itself, with *rwmans* clearly being an echo of *romanz*, also supports the supposition that the original in question was French. Indeed, it was suggested by de Mandach that the Welsh translation was derived from the French.⁴⁹ S. J. Williams suggested an alternative interpretation of the Reinallt colophon, based on the notion that it was added to the text later by a scribe who knew only of a French text, and needed to explain why the Madawc colophon referred to a translation from Latin.⁵⁰ However, this seems

⁴⁶ Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, p. 72.

⁴⁷ See Damian-Grint, 'Translation as *Enarratio* and Hermeneutic Theory', p. 358.

⁴⁸ *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. xxxvi; also *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, p. 30.

⁴⁹ Suggestion dismissed by Rejhon; see de Mandach, *Naissance et développement de la chanson de geste*, p. 144; *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, p. 29.

⁵⁰ *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. xxxvi; discussed in *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, p. 30.

unlikely, since the Reinallt colophon occurs in all of our manuscripts (apart from Peniarth 8b). Consequently, until a full textual study of the Latin, Welsh, and French versions is undertaken, it seems inadvisable to either accept or dismiss de Mandach's suggestion that the Cycle could have been translated from a French source in its entirety.⁵¹

Walpole refutes de Mandach's idea that the Reinallt of the Welsh colophons be identified with Renaud of Boulogne, primarily on the grounds that there is no reason for Renaud to be called 'king of the isles' and proposes a theory that *Reinallt brenhin yr ynysoed* is Rognvaldr Gudrodarson (r. 1188–1226), otherwise known as Reginald, king of the Isle of Man.⁵² The argument rests on the interpretation of *brenhin ynyssed*. It is tempting to speculate, however, that if de Mandach's identification were to prove correct, *ynyssed* might have been a corruption or mistaken correction of Denis, since that name is mentioned in the colophon of the French text, referring to 'l'estoire que li cuens Renauz de Boloigne fist par grant estuide cerchier et querre es livres a monseignor Saint Denis' ('the history which the count Renaud de Boloigne made with great effort seek and take from the books of the lord St Denis').⁵³ The hypothetical original Welsh translation of this could have been something on the lines of 'ystorya a beris Reinallt urenhin o Sant Denis y athro da y throssi' ('History which king Reinald caused a good scholar to translate from St Denis').⁵⁴ If *Sant* were dropped, *denis* might have been seen as an incomplete translation of 'of the isle' from French into Welsh, retaining the French *d*, (*d*)enis. A scribe could have then corrected it by removing this *d*, emending the spelling of *enis* to *ynys*, and turning *ynys* into the plural *ynyssed/ynysoed*. The alternative is to take the text literally, as 'king of the isles', as does Walpole, proposing Rognvaldr as the Reinallt of the colophon. This theory is taken further and developed by Rejhon.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Although most of the French versions currently known appear to include the *Descriptio*, which lacks in the Welsh and the Latin, they agree with the Welsh in the exclusion of the *Letter to Leoprاند* which precedes the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* in most of its Latin manuscripts; see *Historia Karoli*, ed. by Meredith-Jones, p. 87. Only a complete study of the entire manuscript tradition would help answer the question of the affinity of the Welsh text. Although R. Williams claims that the *Cronicl Turpin* is closer to the Latin original than the French translations, he provides no evidence to support this claim; R. Williams, 'The History of Charlemagne', p. 36.

⁵² *Old French Johannes Translation*, ed. by Walpole, II, 88–89.

⁵³ *Old French Johannes Translation*, ed. by Walpole, II, 130.

⁵⁴ My translation.

⁵⁵ *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, pp. 29, 71–75.

There are several problems with Rognvaldr as Reinallt. One of these is that Rejhon argues that Rognvaldr had Welsh connections and was responsible also for the Welsh translation.⁵⁶ Further, if as Rejhon suggests, Rognvaldr had conceived of this compilation to please the Pope, and knew of the similar compilations in Norse (*Karlamagnússaga*), it is unclear why he would not have had the *Descriptio*, which is used in the saga, rather than the *Pèlerinage*, included in his collection.⁵⁷ The former text is vastly more church-oriented and religious than the latter, since its narrative concerns a crusade against Saracens, and furthermore this version of the story was current in Scandinavia, having been used twice in the Norse versions of the compilation.⁵⁸ It is also unclear why we should assume that Rognvaldr was also responsible for adding the *Cân Rolant* to the Cycle, or indeed, for the idea of the Cycle itself, since only two texts in it have any indication of being associated with Reinallt.⁵⁹ There is nothing in the colophons to associate Reinallt with the *Cân Rolant*. A further issue is the connection with Wales. Rognvaldr's familial ties with Wales are reasonably solid, but only provide a connection to North Wales, and arguably Llanbadarn, where, according to Rejhon's theory, the translation is likely to have taken place, but not to Deheubarth, where *Cronicl Turpin*, which provides the narrative framework for the whole Cycle, was translated.⁶⁰ Rognvaldr was father-in-law of Rhodri ap Owain Gwynedd (d. 1195), through his daughter's marriage, and had helped Rhodri take Anglesey in 1193.⁶¹ Yet this means that the only link is through a marriage alliance, and when later Rognvaldr tried to marry that same daughter to Llewelyn the Great, he failed when the latter married

⁵⁶ *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, p. 71.

⁵⁷ *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, pp. 71–72, referring to unpublished work by Ronald N. Walpole; it is unclear which pope is being referred to. Rognvaldr's reign overlapped with four popes' tenure of office: Clement III (1187–91), Celestine III (1191–98), Innocent III (1198–1216) and Honorius III (1216–27); Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy*, p. 252. For a discussion of the three versions of the pilgrimage narrative contained in the saga, see Aebischer, *Les versions norroises*.

⁵⁸ In Branches I and X; Branch VII contains the *Pèlerinage* narrative; Aebischer, *Les versions norroises*, esp. pp. 74–77, 80–82, 153, 161. For an account of the subject matter of the *Descriptio*, see *Old French Johannes Translation*, ed. by Walpole, I, xvii–xviii.

⁵⁹ *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, pp. 73, 74.

⁶⁰ *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, pp. 73, 74.

⁶¹ *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, pp. 73, 74; see also McDonald, *Manx Kingship*, p. 102, and Broderick, 'Irish and Welsh Strands', pp. 34, 35.

the natural daughter of King John.⁶² The nature of the marriage alliance in the Middle Ages was such that the political ties formed by it were dissolved more often than not when that marriage was replaced by another. Thus it does not necessarily follow that when Rhodri married Rognvaldr's daughter he still had political or familial ties with Deheubarth. It is even less likely, that even if these political ties remained, Rognvaldr in any way participated in them. At any rate, his link with the ruling family of Deheubarth is hardly direct.

There are two further possible links between Rognvaldr and Wales: according to late sources another of Rognvaldr's daughters, Senena, married Gruffydd ap Llywelyn Fawr (d. 1244) and was the mother of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (r. 1246–82), and in a much later, sixteenth-century source, Rognvaldr is credited with a son named Hywel, suggesting a Welsh wife or lover.⁶³ These, however, are links to Gwynedd only, and do not provide a connection to Deheubarth, which is the only region firmly associated with the Cycle (through Madog). Furthermore, Rejhon's theory applies exclusively to the *Pererindod* (Rejhon also applies it to the *Cân Rolant*). The *Cronicl Turpin* was then added, according to this theory, under patronage of the ruling house of Deheubarth, by Madog ap Selyf toward the end of the third quarter of the thirteenth century. However, we have seen that the *Pererindod* and the *Cronicl Turpin* were probably associated at an early stage and that *Cân Rolant* is not related to the colophons on the basis of which this theory is built.

Although Rejhon is justified in saying that the existence of a prior Latin compilation which preceded the Welsh cannot be dismissed out of hand, had the Welsh Cycle been a translation of a single Latin compilation, it seems probable that the manuscript tradition would have been more consistent in terms of the order in which the texts are found. As it is, it seems more likely that only the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* and the *Pèlerinage* were associated at the stage at which our colophons (or at least the Reinallt colophon) were composed, since the Reinallt colophon makes reference to both texts but no others. However, this is not to say that the Cycle was not seen as a unit. The consistent split between two parts of the *Cronicl Turpin* in all of the manuscripts implies that texts were supposed to be inserted in the middle.⁶⁴ It is interesting that the

⁶² *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, p. 74; McDonald, *Manx Kingship*, p. 103, and Broderick, 'Irish and Welsh Strands', p. 36.

⁶³ For further details and references, see McDonald, *Manx Kingship*, pp. 104–05; Broderick, 'Irish and Welsh Strands', pp. 34, 36.

⁶⁴ Broderick, 'Irish and Welsh Strands', pp. 22–23, Table 1.

particular association between the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* and the *Pèlerinage* appears to have been lost in the course of transmission of the Welsh texts: the *Pererindod* occurs in various locations within the Cycle, depending on the manuscript. In particular, in the RB it appears to have been added at the end as an afterthought. Compared to the consistency in splitting the *Cronicl Turpin* and inserting *Cân Rolant* between the two parts, this seems striking. The only interpretation possible is that the association of *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* and the *Pèlerinage* was initially carried over into the Welsh translations, as attested by the colophons associated with the *Cronicl Turpin* and the *Pererindod*, but was lost as the Welsh Charlemagne Cycle evolved and grew. Scribes and copyists who could very easily see how *Cân Rolant* or *Otuel* related to the *Cronicl Turpin* narrative appear to have lost the connection when it came to the *Pererindod*.

One of the problems with the theory as presented by Rejhon is that this picture makes little sense geographically (the Isle of Man is rather out of the way for the route projected).⁶⁵ Furthermore, the theory of Rognvaldr's participation requires to split the Cycle into its component parts and conflicts with its own contention that it was Rognvaldr who first conceived of the idea of bringing these texts together. Most importantly, it does not take into account the thematic unity of the texts, which demonstrates an affinity with the crusading ideal and, as is shown below, characterizes the Welsh collection. One could go as far as to say that the texts are vehicles of crusade propaganda.⁶⁶ The association of these texts with crusade preaching in Wales lead towards the most obvious group who were likely to be involved in such an undertaking in Wales, the Cistercians. Their involvement in manuscript production (and thus textual transmission) and crusade preaching makes the translation of the works in a Cistercian house a possibility that is at the very least worth serious consideration, despite the well-known prohibition of the Order against literary pursuits. The diagnostic question is whether it is possible to present an alternative theory based on the suggestion of Cistercian involvement that would solve the problem of the geographical distance between the translations? The involvement of a religious order would go some way to solving the problem of temporal, and indeed, if necessary, spatial distance. An order could afford to undertake a

⁶⁵ Note that S. J. Williams has already suggested the possibility of confusion between the two Reginalds; *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. xxxvi; referred to also in *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, p. 30.

⁶⁶ Indeed, crusade preaching is known to have invoked the names of Charlemagne, Roland and Oliver; Bennett, 'First Crusaders' Images', p. 107; Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, p. 16; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, p. 112.

long-term project and carry it through. Remains the question of incentive and patronage.

While it appears impossible to provide a definitive identification of Reinallt, it is worthwhile to consider alternative possibilities. A potentially fruitful direction of enquiry could be to seek Reinallt in the Marches, among the Marcher families who had ties to the princely family of Deheubarth, and perhaps also to the Cistercian order. Taking Madog and Deheubarth as the starting point of the investigation, if we are to look at the same court half a century before, in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, we would find that a different Gruffudd, Gruffudd ap Rhys (d. 1201) the great-grandfather of Gruffudd ap Maredudd, had strong links with the powerful Marcher family of the Braoses (also spelled Briouze). Reynault (Reginald) de Braose (d. 1228), married, in 1213, Gwladus Ddu, daughter of Llywelyn Fawr of Gwynedd, but his sister Matilda was wife of Gruffudd ap Rhys and great-grandmother of the above-mentioned Gruffudd ap Maredudd.⁶⁷ (For an illustration of relationships discussed here, see Figure 3.) This Matilda took a Cistercian habit at Llanbadarn Fawr before being buried at Strata Florida alongside her husband.⁶⁸ Earlier, when Rhys ap Gruffudd, prince of Deheubarth (the Lord Rhys) imprisoned his illegitimate son Maelgwn ap Rhys (d. 1231) in 1189, he gave him to the custody of William de Braose (d. c. 1192/93), where Maelgwn remained until 1192.⁶⁹ The links between the two houses appear to have been significant throughout the period. If, therefore, we replace Rognvaldr, king of the Isle of Man, with Reginald de Braose as the Reinallt who commissioned the translations, all three of the names in the colophons become linked, and the apparent disjunction between the two stages of translation of the Cycle disappears. The resulting picture would show a process of translation undertaken in the same area over a period of half a century to a century, possibly in two stages. In the first stage, a Norman baron, who had a strong political alliance with the Welsh princes of

⁶⁷ *ByT: RB*, pp. 190–91; J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, II, 577, 645, 652 nn. 766, 768; Turner, ‘Briouze, William (III) de (d. 1211)’; Turvey, *Welsh Princes*, p. 89. Note that Lloyd spells the surname as *Breos*. Rejhon mentions these family links, *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, p. 26. The family made an additional link with Gwynedd when Reginald’s nephew, John (d. 1332), married Margaret ferch Llywelyn, the sister of Gwladus Ddu.

⁶⁸ D. H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, p. 153; Golding, ‘Gerald of Wales’, pp. 18–19.

⁶⁹ Pryce, ‘Rhys ap Gruffudd (1131/2–1197)’ and the section on Maelgwn ap Rhys in Smith, ‘Gruffudd ap Rhys (d. 1201)’. William II de Braose is mentioned by Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, I. 4, ed. by Dimock, p. 53 (trans. by Thorpe, p. 112 and pp. 109–10 n. 145); for dates see also Turner, ‘Briouze, William (III) de (d. 1211)’.

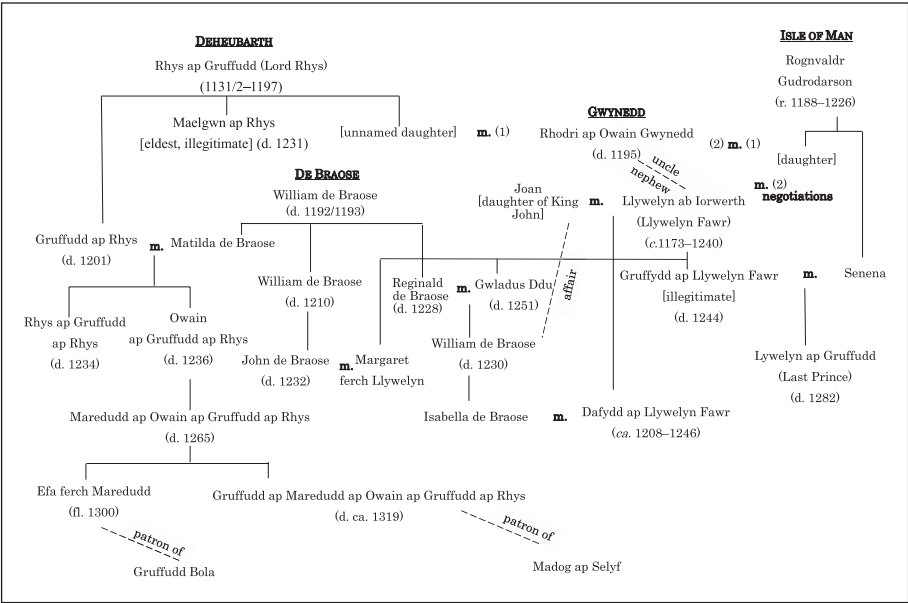


Figure 3. Relationships between persons mentioned.

Gwynedd and Deheubarth, and was married to a Welshwoman, may have been the patron who encouraged the translation of the *Pèlerinage* from French (a version with which he is more than likely to have been familiar) into Latin or even alongside at least part of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* into Welsh (if these texts were indeed associated prior to the translation, as the colophon suggests), and perhaps even provided the impetus for the translation of the whole Cycle into Welsh. More texts would be added to this Welsh compilation by a translator (Madog) working under the patronage of this Norman baron's Deheubarth relative (the great-grandson of his sister).

The Braoses, in the course of their history, had extensive connections with Welsh princes and were thus a bilingual, or at least a bicultural family.⁷⁰ They were also patrons, as were the princes of Deheubarth, of the Cistercian order. For instance, a William de Braose wanted to found a Cistercian abbey and there

⁷⁰ For instance, Isabella, daughter of William de Braose (d. 1230), was wife of Dafydd ap Llywelyn (c. 1208–46). At the death of her husband, Henry III charged the abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Basingwerk to take her to Godstow a convent near Oxford; see Richards, *Welsh Noblewomen*, pp. 187–88 and R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*, p. 248. For more on the arrival of the Braoses in Wales, see R. R. Davies, *Lordship and Society*, p. 35. For more on the Braoses more generally, see also Walker, *Medieval Wales*, pp. 50–54.

are Welsh Cistercian manuscripts, such as the Breviate of Domesday of Neath Abbey, which are known to have been produced for the Braoses.⁷¹ Deheubarth patronage of the Cistercians can be said to have started with the Lord Rhys. When he reconquered most of South and Central Wales, two major Cistercian abbeys, Strata Florida and Whitland, came to be in his territory, and he became their new patron, going on to found also Llanllŷr, the only Welsh Cistercian nunnery.⁷² Indeed, this marked a change in patronage patterns and from that point onward many Cistercian abbeys in Wales came under the patronage of the native princes, ceasing to be seen as foreign foundations.⁷³ Thus the Braoses, princes of Deheubarth, and the Cistercian order create a triangle which both matches the evidence of our texts and provides a viable cultural and political context within which the Cycle could have taken shape. The connections between the royal house of Deheubarth and Cistercians are reinforced by the shared interest in the crusades. The Welsh pilgrims who drowned in 1141 on the way to Jerusalem are identified in the *Annales Cambriae* as coming from Dyfed and Ceredigion, and therefore can arguably be assigned to Deheubarth (at least for Dyfed). Gerald attests to Lord Rhys's favourable attitude to the crusade preaching of 1188.⁷⁴ Regardless of possible Braose involvement, echoes of the contemporary Orient and crusading concerns which are found in the Cycle and discussed in greater detail below, fit well with Deheubarth patronage and Cistercian authorship.

The problem with the theory of Braose-Deheubarth patronage of the transmission is that there is no apparent reason for Reginald de Braose to be called *brenhin yr ynysoed*.⁷⁵ However, several arguments could be put forward tentatively in relation to this issue. These include the fact that our earliest manuscripts all date from at least the end of thirteenth/beginning of the fourteenth

⁷¹ D. H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, p. 4; Huws, 'The Neath Abbey Breviate', pp. 46, 48–49. The Braoses were patrons of Neath; see Holden, *Lords of the Central Marches*, p. 177.

⁷² Burton and Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, p. 45; D. H. Williams, *Welsh Cistercians*, p. 3; S. Harper, *Music in Welsh Culture*, p. 192; A. H. Williams, *An Introduction to the History of Wales*, p. 60; Turvey, *Welsh Princes*, pp. 185–86; J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, II, 596–98, 603. It may also be a sign of appropriation that Rhys sent his son to live in Whitland when the latter was deprived of sight by Henry III (Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, II, 597).

⁷³ J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, II, 596–68.

⁷⁴ Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, I, 1, ed. by Dimock, pp. 14–16 (trans. by Thorpe, pp. 74–76); see also Hurlock, 'Power, Preaching and the Crusades', pp. 97, 101.

⁷⁵ For the reading *brenhin yr ynyssed* see, for instance, RB, fol. 154^r, col. 625, l. 36 and WB, fol. 78^v, col. 81, ll. 8–9.

centuries, by which time the two sides of the Braose-Deheubarth alliance had had time to have several feuds, which would easily explain why Reginald's name would have been partially suppressed or altered, retaining only a vague 'Reinallt king of the isles' (with the title perhaps added, to replace the family name), who would no longer be easily identified with the Norman baron. The fissures in the alliance opened most notably in 1217, when Reginald had a falling out with his nephews, Rhys (d. 1234) and Owain (d. 1236), over his submission to King John.⁷⁶ Moreover, in terms of scribal issues, since our manuscripts are copies of copies, scribal error is not altogether out of the question. A sequence of errors, involving mistaken expansion of a non-existent abbreviation, which would turn *braose* (in one of its possible spellings) into *brenhin yr nynyssoed* is conceivable. Indeed, it would not be inconceivable for the 'scribal error'-type alteration to have been made on purpose if the break in the Braose-Deheubarth alliance had led to the suppression of the name, removing any reference to the Braose from a literary compilation associated with Deheubarth literary patronage.

Finally, local political considerations may also account for the strange deletion of a name which occurs in Peniarth 9, and which has hitherto not been explained.⁷⁷ According to Rejhon, Peniarth 9 contains a note which she describes as being 'in an early hand' on the left margin of fol. 52^v which reads 'A touz yceulx quy cestz lettrez verront ou orrount Saluz sachiez moy [two words are unreadable here] Bruge (?) avoir done et ordine [one illegible word follows]' ('To all those who see or hear these words, greetings, know I [...] Bruge, having given and ordered [...]').⁷⁸ I have not seen the manuscript and therefore cannot judge how early the hand in question is, but would venture to suggest very tentatively that it might have belonged to someone who knew or suspected a Braose connection and might have written Briuze (rather than Bruge) in a note

⁷⁶ Reginald also fell out with the ruling house of Gwynedd in 1230, when Llywelyn hanged Reginald's son, William Braose, for adultery with Llywelyn's wife, Joan. J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, II, 652, 670. As mentioned above, the possibility of multiple Reginalds being confused at a later stage has been raised before. For more on Rhys, see Jenkins, 'Rhys Gryg'.

⁷⁷ See *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, pp. 4, 28 and n. 17 (p. 4). Note that the colophon in this manuscript contains the name of 'Ieuan the Scholar', which has led scholars to identify him as either 'Johannes Scholasticus' who is mentioned in the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, or with 'Maître Jehans', the Old French translator of the *Chronicle* (associated with the other Renaud, the Count of Boulogne); *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, p. 28 nn. 105, 106 for references.

⁷⁸ *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, p. 5; the comments in brackets are Rejhon's; the translation is mine.

claiming credit for the text. This, however, until the illegible letters can be read, remains speculation.

The possibility that Reginald de Braose may be the name behind Reinallt *brenhin yr ynyssoed*, fits into the historical and cultural context of the period, albeit it is supported by circumstantial evidence only. Until a full comparison of the Welsh textual tradition with the manuscript traditions of the original texts is undertaken, which might throw more light on the relationships (textual and geographical) between the various versions, this suggestion remains tentative. It must, however, be noted, that the Marches would be an ideal environment for translations from French into Welsh (and, indeed, vice versa) to take place.⁷⁹ Various members of the same family would speak the different languages and it would be understandable for them to wish to share their favourite stories with their relatives, which would prompt them to commission translations. The advantage of this suggestion is also that it would account for the thematic unity in the Welsh Charlemagne Cycle, which will be discussed in greater detail below.

Themes and Changes

The introduction of contemporary crusading concerns to the Welsh Cycle occurs both on the thematic level and on the level of factual information. A case in point is the change undergone by the description of the route taken by Charlemagne and his twelve peers to the East in the *Pèlerinage* when it was translated into Welsh.⁸⁰ Charlemagne's itinerary in the French text is, starting with France: Burgundy, Lorraine, Bavaria, Hungary, the lands of Turks and Persians, the land described as belonging to the 'hated people', crossing the *Flum* at *Lalice*,⁸¹ then *Croiz Patrie*, possibly designating somewhere in Central Europe,⁸² then Greece, *Romanie*,⁸³ Palestine (not named but described as 'terre

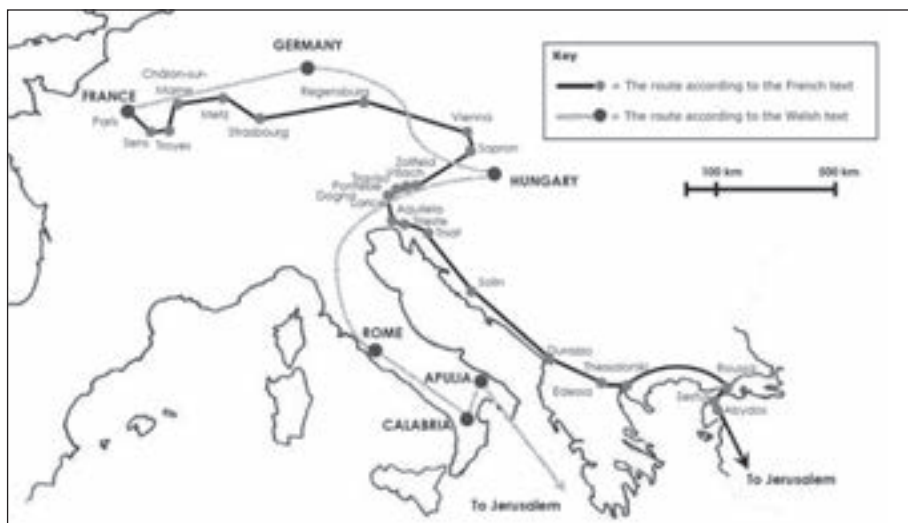
⁷⁹ Cf. *Delw y byd*, discussed in Chapter 1 above. Lloyd-Morgan, 'Crossing the Borders', pp. 166, 169.

⁸⁰ The Welsh itinerary has not hitherto been discussed; the French itinerary has been examined by Rejhon, 'L'itinéraire de Saint-Denis'.

⁸¹ Rejhon, 'L'itinéraire de Saint-Denis', pp. 832–33 identifies this as Larice, a station along the Roman route which Charlemagne appears to have followed in this narrative.

⁸² Rejhon, following Suchier, thinks this is Croatia, see Rejhon, 'L'itinéraire de Saint-Denis', pp. 834–35; cf. Suchier, 'Review of *Sechs Bearbeitungen*', p. 406.

⁸³ Wolff, 'Romania', pp. 30–32, argues that this refers to Asia Minor.



Map 2. The itineraries in the French and Welsh pilgrimage of Charlemagne narratives.

u Deus receut martirie’, ‘land where God received martyrdom’), and finally Jerusalem.⁸⁴ The Welsh list is, starting also with France, Germany, Hungary, Rome, Calabria,⁸⁵ Apulia, and Jerusalem.⁸⁶ Rough outlines of both itineraries can be seen in Map 2.⁸⁷ The itinerary of the *Pèlerinage*, which I base on Rejhon’s analysis and map, is in black, while that of the *Pererindod* is depicted in grey.

The main difference between the two itineraries, which can be readily observed from the map, is that the French one involves travelling to Jerusalem via Greece, while the Welsh has the heroes transferred directly from Italy to the Holy Land. This may reflect the different eras to which the two versions belong,

⁸⁴ *Le voyage de Charlemagne*, ed. by Aebischer, pp. 36–37, ll. 100–08. Duval, ‘Anonyme auteur du Voyage de Charlemagne’, p. 201, seems to think the route in this text is Bourgogne-Lorraine-Bavière-Hongrie-Peste (*sic* – corr. Perse?) — Turquie-Grece-Jerusalem. A slightly different list given in G. Paris, ‘La Chanson du pèlerinage de Charlemagne’ (*Comptes-rendus des séances*), p. 434: Burgundy-Lorraine-Bavaria-Italy-Greece-Jerusalem then Syria-Asia Minor-Constantinople. The itinerary of the French text is analysed by Rejhon, ‘L’itinéraire de Saint-Denis.’

⁸⁵ Listed as *Kalabyr*.

⁸⁶ *Ystorya de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 183.

⁸⁷ Note that the locations on the map are approximate. For the French itinerary I have used the information in Rejhon, ‘L’itinéraire de Saint-Denis’, p. 839. It was not possible to reproduce all of the place-names provided on Rejhon’s map.

since travel across the Mediterranean, especially of large military expeditions, changed drastically over the course of the several centuries after the beginning of the crusades. As highlighted in Rejhon's study of the French itinerary, the list reflects real-life logistics.⁸⁸ Taking the argument of contemporary logistics further, we can observe that at the time of the First Crusade, it was impossible to transport the armies directly across the Mediterranean to the Holy Land, and there was no alternative to the land route across Asia Minor, although this situation changed within a century.⁸⁹ Thus the land route of the French version of the *Pèlerinage* follows the logistics of the early crusades. Meanwhile, the *Pererindod* involves the marine cities of Apulia and appears to imply a direct sea passage from Southern Italy to Jerusalem, which would only have become possible by the time of the Third Crusade. Indeed, as we have seen in *Brut y Tywysogion* entries relating to Welsh pilgrims, a marine route seems to have already been followed by the Welsh in the mid-twelfth century.

The *Pèlerinage* matches exactly the Northern French and German itineraries of the First Crusade.⁹⁰ The mystery of the apparently misplaced Turks, Persians, and the 'hated peoples', whose lands appear to be located between Hungary and Greece, may be solved if we follow Rejhon's suggestion that there may be generic names applied by the author as a result of his vague knowledge of some non-Christian threat in the region.⁹¹ One could also argue for a connection between these and the non-Christian Hungarians, who had only recently converted at the time of the First Crusade, and the memory of whose animosity may well have been alive at the time the author was writing.⁹² The Hungarians are a better candidate for the generic pagan here than the Turks menacing the Byzantine Empire towards which Charlemagne was travelling (which is Rejhon's suggestion), considering that the author does not seem to be particularly sympathetic to the Byzantines.

The Welsh itinerary which, as can be seen from Map 2, diverges from the French at the Italian stage, implies, as Rejhon rightly suggests, a sea voyage

⁸⁸ For example, according to Rejhon, the impossibility of travelling from Saint-Denis directly to Lorraine and the necessity of going via Burgundy is dictated by the network of Roman roads; Rejhon, 'L'itinéraire de Saint-Denis', p. 830.

⁸⁹ For a discussion, see Pryor, 'A View from a Masthead', pp. 138, 143, 149, and Cahen, *Orient et Occident*, p. 69.

⁹⁰ Cahen, *Orient et Occident*, p. 67.

⁹¹ Rejhon 'L'itinéraire de Saint-Denis', pp. 831–32.

⁹² Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, pp. 54–55.

from Italy to Jerusalem.⁹³ The fact that this represents the kind of voyage that was possible at a later period in the crusades may therefore indicate that the text was updated either before or during the process of translation.⁹⁴ Thus the translators or compilers of the Welsh text appear to have brought their own context to bear on the texts they were translating. One thinks in particular of the routes of Welsh pilgrims to the Holy Land given in the Welsh chronicles.⁹⁵ While the original *Pèlerinage* and, indeed, the other works that lay at the origin of the Welsh Charlemagne Cycle, belong to the time of the First and Second Crusades, and to the French culture of crusading, their translations exhibit signs of having been altered to reflect the Welsh crusading experience. It displays, as can be seen from the changes undergone by the crusaders' route described in the *Pererindod*, the signs of being composed for an audience whose experience of crusading was formed by the Third Crusade. The Third Crusade appears to have differed from the earlier crusades both in its logistics and preparation, and in the fact that by then a type of discourse specifically catered to crusading propaganda had been formed. The organized propaganda tour of Archbishop Baldwin, the introduction of specific liturgical practices by the Cistercians, the arrival of the Patriarch of Jerusalem in Europe to request help — these are not only features that distinguished the it from preceding crusades, but they were also those features which were visible from Wales. Their experience in Wales appears to also be shown in the various themes introduced or emphasized in the Welsh Charlemagne Cycle.

The most striking characteristic of the Cycle is that, as has already been noted, it is a more or less unified narrative created by the bringing together of several disparate tales.⁹⁶ This was achieved by means of the separation of the *Cronicl Turpin* into two parts to frame the narrative, and the introduction of transitional passages to link some of the texts in the Cycle. A less obvious but nevertheless equally significant feature consists of the alterations made in the texts' thematic make-up. The two main themes that a brief examination of the Welsh Cycle brings to the surface are: martyrdom through death in battle

⁹³ According to Rejhon, this reading is unique to the RB, Rejhon, 'L'itinéraire de Saint-Denis', p. 834 n. 12. Rejhon promises a more detailed discussion of the list of place-names in a forthcoming edition of the *Pererindod*.

⁹⁴ A similar conclusion is reached by Suchier, 'Review of *Sechs Bearbeitungen*', p. 406.

⁹⁵ See the discussion in Chapter 2 above.

⁹⁶ As Gaunt notes, cyclical compilations were also common in medieval French literature and manuscript culture; *Retelling the Tale*, pp. 71–72.

against non-believers and an emphasis on conversion to Christianity by force.⁹⁷ Both are the outcome of a conflictual encounter with the contemporary Orient.

These themes are to some extent already present in some of the original texts. However, they are emphasized in the Welsh translation, arguably to provide unity.⁹⁸ This constitutes a major difference between the Welsh Cycle and the various originals of the works brought together in it. The French works, while displaying signs of a crusade context in themselves, are concerned first and foremost with the issue of Charlemagne's imperial power, and only secondly in the extent and impact of that power, in the form of crusade, on Saracen lands. As Erich Poppe has pointed out in relation to *Bown*, medieval translators aimed to adapt their texts to suit the new audience rather than, as modern translators, to be faithful to the original.⁹⁹ The Welsh translators of the Charlemagne texts, understandably, were less concerned than the original authors of the text with the issue of French imperial ambitions. Indeed, furnished with an imperial hero of their own, Arthur, they may have had incentive to downplay these. Consequently, to replace the theme of French imperial prowess, another major thematic unit is brought forward, which the Welsh audience could identify with — the contemporary Orient and the crusades. For example, as noted by Erich Poppe, *Otuel*, in the prologue, contrasts with the surviving French version in its characterization of Charlemagne which includes a reference to his conquest on non-Christian lands in decidedly crusading terms.¹⁰⁰ The language of crusade discourse is prominent in some of the speeches of the Ronscenvales episode of *Cân Rolant*. The most striking example is Archbishop Turpin's speech, which in the Welsh is placed after Oliver's monologue and a description of the pagan army (neither of which occur in the French version).¹⁰¹ Whereas in *Roland*, Turpin declares that they ought to die for their king and in defence of Christianity, in the Welsh he declares that they ought to die for Christ who himself died for their sakes, and because of whom they are called

⁹⁷ For a discussion of the theme of martyrdom in the context of enhanced crusading tone in an adaptation of the *Roland*, see Horst Richter's discussion of *Rolandslied*, in 'Militia Dei', pp. 121–23.

⁹⁸ A similar phenomenon has been noted by Poppe in relation to *Bown*; 'Matter of Troy', p. 256; see also Reck, 'Heiligere Streiter'.

⁹⁹ Poppe, 'Owein, Ystorya Bown and the Problem of "Relative Distance"', p. 75, with reference to Djordjevic, 'Mapping Medieval Translation', p. 9.

¹⁰⁰ Poppe, 'Charlemagne in Wales and Ireland', p. 175.

¹⁰¹ See *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. by Dufournet, pp. 150–51; cf. *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, pp. 206–09.

Christians.¹⁰² The passage in the Welsh version of the text is long and repetitive, stressing the theme of the death of Christ. A similar message is delivered in Oliver's speech, in Chapter LXX of the Welsh text, which has no parallel in the French.¹⁰³ Indeed, unlike some of the alterations discussed here (particularly the echo of the Credo discussed below), this speech can be found neither in the original French nor in other vernacular versions, such as the Norse, suggesting that it is entirely an addition of the Welsh translator.¹⁰⁴ Many more examples of changes, sometimes subtle, made to the text, can be found, such as, for example, the addition of several references to 'infidels' to Roland's war-cry in the Welsh text in Chapter LXXXVII, Oliver referring to the enemy as 'dogs' in Chapter LXXXVI; and, finally the reference to Gansel and Gereint getting the reward of eternal life in Chapters CL and CIII.¹⁰⁵

The sections in the Welsh Cycle which best illustrate the thematic unity brought into the texts by the Welsh translators/adaptators are the transitional passages introduced between the various tales in the collection. One of these passages, which Rejhon designates as the 'transition from the Welsh *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*', but which could equally be called 'transition to *Cân Rolant*', since in the two manuscripts in which it follows the *Pererindod* it precedes *Cân Rolant*, is as follows:¹⁰⁶

A gwedy y bererindawt y'r bed ac rwydhau y wyr oc eu blinder, y duc yr amheroddr ar gof y edewit y'r Pedriarch; y tynawd parth ar Yspaenn ac anneiryf luossogrwyd ganthaw y gwplau yn y lle hwnw y edewit.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² It is unlikely that in the French 'king' implies Christ rather than Charlemagne, since the previous line in the text refers to Charlemagne leaving them where they are.

¹⁰³ Oliver describes his listeners as 'yn emlad dros wlat nef' ('fighting for the kingdom of heaven'). *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, pp. 200–01.

¹⁰⁴ Poppe, 'Charlemagne in Wales and Ireland', p. 177.

¹⁰⁵ *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. by Dufournet, pp. 156–57, 168–69, 188–89; cf. *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, pp. 210–11, 224–25, 240–41; note that *Gereint* in the Welsh is substituted for the original's *Gerin*. Note also a direct address to God in the Welsh version, where the French merely describes the battle; *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. by Dufournet, pp. 172–73; *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, pp. 228–29.

¹⁰⁶ This passage occurs between *Pererindod* and *Cân Rolant* in Peniarth 10 and Peniarth 183, but in Cwrtmawr 2 is inserted between the first two chapters of *Cronicl Turpin*; *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, p. 103 n. 1.

¹⁰⁷ *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, p. 102 n. 1.

And after his pilgrimage to the shrine, and having relieved his men of their weariness, the emperor remembered his promise to the Patriarch; he drew toward Spain with innumerable hosts to accomplish his promise in that place.¹⁰⁸

This passage re-defines Charlemagne's Spanish expedition in the *Cronicl Turpin* as a fulfilment of his promise to the patriarch of Jerusalem made in the *Pererindod*.¹⁰⁹ The promise to the Patriarch is present in both the *Pèlerinage* and the *Pererindod*, with reference, in both cases, to the resulting campaign and the deaths of the twelve peers.¹¹⁰ Thus, the two texts are linked by adding the patriarch of the *Pererindod* to St James of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* as the instigator of Charlemagne's Spanish campaign. While the main reason for this change must have been the consideration of thematic unity, it is possible that the compilers of the Cycle, and indeed its audience, would be aware of the contemporary relevance of the alteration made, in light of the parallel it created with the situation in late-twelfth-century Western Europe, and Britain in particular, when Patriarch Eraclius of Jerusalem came to ask Henry II (as other Western European monarchs) for aid in the Holy Land. Since the references to St James are not removed from the beginning of *Cronicl Turpin*, it appears that the changes made by the Welsh translators or compilers, which introduce thematic unity to the Cycle, are not invasive in the sense of replacing elements of the original texts with new ones, but rather add new thematic layers to introduce a degree of unity to the texts. Another version of the Welsh transitional passage, preserved in Cwrtmawr 2, recapitulates the promise in a close paraphrase.¹¹¹ Note, however, that this passage also mentions St James the Apostle, who is not referred to in either of the original passages (either in *Pèlerinage* or in *Pererindod*). This mention may also indicate close ties (closer than between the original versions) between *Cân Rolant* and *Cronicl Turpin*, with its strong links to Santiago de Compostella and multiple references to St James. Other elements unique to the Welsh version of the tale also arise from the unusual nature of the compilation. One of the effects of the rearrangement of parts of the text and the insertion of the *Cân Rolant* into the middle of the *Cronicl Turpin* is to produce a narrative consistent not only thematically but also chronologically.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, p. 103 n. 1.

¹⁰⁹ For the original promise, see *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 185; *History of Charlemagne*, trans. by Rhys, p. 24.

¹¹⁰ *Le voyage de Charlemagne*, ed. by Aebischer, p. 45, ll. 229–32; *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 185, ll. 24–30.

¹¹¹ This is Rejhon's manuscript M; *Cân Rolant*, p. 103 n. 1.

¹¹² *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, p. 49.

The sense of unity is reinforced by the introduction or enhancement of a number of themes which are in tune with Cistercian crusading discourse of the late twelfth century discussed in the preceding chapters. A major feature of crusade preaching is the idea of spiritual recompense.¹¹³ While this element is already present in the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* and does not undergo much change in *Cronicl Turpin*, it is introduced to the other works of the Cycle. There are several examples in the *Cronicl Turpin* where 'securing the palm of martyrdom' or 'crown of martyrdom' appears to be used as a euphemism for death.¹¹⁴ The mood created by the several references to Turpin offering remission of sins to Charlemagne's warriors is reinforced by a passage added to *Cân Rolant* where Oliver incites the French army to fight by invoking attainment of heaven through loss of life in battle.¹¹⁵ In the latter passage, the themes of martyrdom, remission of sins, and fighting for the kingdom of heaven are invoked. Not only does this add a preaching note to the *Cân Rolant*, but it also brings it in line with the *Cronicl Turpin* which frames the Cycle. The translators or redactors may have introduced this passage into the text in order to bring greater thematic unity to the narrative of the Cycle as a whole. Since this thematic unity is based on crusading themes, the impetus for the introduction of this passage to *Cân Rolant* was probably ideological as well as stylistic. A similar phenomenon can be observed in *Otuel*, where, in the Welsh version alone, the martyrdom theme is also introduced, albeit in a reversed form. As the battle nears its end, the Christian youths joining it kill a hundred 'pagans' and effect 'can dolut a thristwch eu hanuon y uffern' ('their sending to hell in pain and sorrow').¹¹⁶ The situation of the 'pagans' is depicted here as the opposite of that of the Christian martyrs. It underlines the central theme of the story — the glorification of the Franks and Christians at the expense of the Saracen opponents.

¹¹³ Flori, 'L'Église et la Guerre Sainte', p. 458.

¹¹⁴ See, for example, *Ystorya de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, pp. 9–10, 13 ('The History of Charlemagne', trans. by R. Williams, pp. 90, 93); *Historia Karoli*, ed. by Meredith-Jones, pp. 110–11, 118–19.

¹¹⁵ *Ystorya de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 14 ('The History of Charlemagne', trans. by R. Williams, p. 94); *Historia Karoli*, ed. by Meredith-Jones, pp. 122–23. *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, pp. 200–01; *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. by Dufournet, pp. 148–49. This passage appears to be absent from the French original; discussed in Poppe, 'Owein, Ystorya Bown and the Problem of "Relative Distance"', pp. 80–81.

¹¹⁶ *Ystorya de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 110 ('The History of Charlemagne', trans. by R. Williams, p. 169); cf. *Otinell*, ed. by Guessard and Michelant, p. 69, which refers only to the death of the 'pagans'.

The idea of death on crusade as martyrdom, for which reward is offered in heaven, was already well established by the twelfth century, and indulgence for crusaders was also an idea propagated by the Cistercians, among others. It appears, for instance, in the writings of St Bernard.¹¹⁷ Indeed, Bernard's sermon 'Ad universos fideles' provides one of the most illustrative instances for the notion of crusader indulgence:

Et multi quidem signati sunt ipso loco, caeteros autem ad opus simul provocavimus, ut qui ex Christianis necdum signati sunt ad viam Hierosolymam, noverint eandem sese indulgentiam hac adepturos expeditione, si tamen praestiterint in ea pro consilio episcoporum et principum.¹¹⁸

And in this place there are many who are signed [with the cross], but we call on the rest to a similar deed, that those Christians who are not signed to the road to Jerusalem, may know that same indulgence attained by those who undertake this expedition, if they take part in it according to the advice of bishops and princes.¹¹⁹

The indulgence, a forgiveness of sins and remission of penance, was produced as an incentive for potential crusaders. Although such measures were initially viewed as excessive by the church authorities, release from penance and complete remission of sins granted to crusaders began to be regarded as adequate reward for two reasons. Firstly, the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which was a necessary part of most crusades, ranked in contemporaries' minds as adequate penitence in any case. We have observed an example of this in the *Brutiau*, with their reference to Morgan ap Cadwgan's penitential voyage to Jerusalem. Crusading was also seen as a sufficiently painful and dangerous undertaking to cleanse the soul of sins.¹²⁰ The idea of martyrdom of the warriors who die on the crusade forms, as we have seen, a distinct theme in the Cycle. Whilst the idea of warrior as martyr was not alien to a pre-crusade culture, it became associated with crusade death probably as a result of preachers expanding and elaborating on Urban II's biblical reference to taking one's cross and following Christ.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ For instance, Bernard of Clairvaux, *De laude novae militiae*, cols 922–23, and discussion in Schmandt, 'The Fourth Crusade', pp. 197–98.

¹¹⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistola CDLVII*, col. 652.

¹¹⁹ My translation.

¹²⁰ Riley-Smith, 'Death on the First Crusade', pp. 16–17.

¹²¹ Flori, 'Mort et martyre des guerriers vers 1100', pp. 122, 135. Note that Cowdrey, 'Martyrdom and the First Crusade', p. 47, gives Turpin's speech in *Roland* as an example of how ingrained the idea of martyrdom was in lay feudal society's consciousness.

The second of the two themes identified above which form the thematic unity of the Cycle, is that of conversion, tightly linked to the issue of attitude towards non-Christian races in the text. The Saracens as a racial designation feature heavily as Charlemagne's main adversaries, replacing the historical pagans fought by Charlemagne in real life, the Saxons.¹²² The image of Saracens in the *chansons de geste* has been the topic of many studies but it is worth re-examining in relation to the Welsh Cycle in the light of the discussion of terminology for pagans in Welsh sources given in previous chapters.¹²³

One of the most striking examples of the difference between the surviving originals and their Welsh versions occurs in *Cân Rolant*, in the reference to Charlemagne's seven-year Spanish campaign. The French *Roland* begins:

¹²² Bender, 'La genèse de l'image littéraire de Charlemagne', p. 40; and Ganshof, 'Charlemagne', pp. 521, 523–24. It is worth noting, for the sake of historical context, that although the journey itself described in the work is entirely fictional, Charlemagne's contact with the East is not. As noted by Steven Runciman, the legend of Charlemagne's journey to Jerusalem and Constantinople developed in parallel with a different tradition, equally, though less obviously fictitious, which held that Charlemagne had been given protectorate over Jerusalem by Harun al-Rashid. This latter legend, according to Runciman, received scholarly support in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, only to be challenged and disproven almost immediately after; Runciman, 'Charlemagne and Palestine', pp. 606, 619 and p. 606 n. 1 for the bibliography. The legend of the protectorate is based, according to Runciman, on Charlemagne's correspondence with Harun, and with the Patriarch of Jerusalem. According to the Frankish Annals, Charlemagne sent missions to Harun in 797 and 802, received embassies from him in 801 and 807 (of which the first brought the famous elephant to Charlemagne's court), as well as sending missions to the Patriarch of Jerusalem in 799, and probably 802, and receiving them from him in 799, 800, 803, and 807; Runciman, 'Charlemagne and Palestine', pp. 607, 609; also *Annales regni Francorum*, ed. by Pertz, pp. 100–25. For more on Charlemagne and Harun al-Rashid, see Musca, *Carlo Magno*. It seems as though Charlemagne's embassy of 797 to Harun al-Rashid may have passed through Jerusalem; Runciman, 'Charlemagne and Palestine', p. 608. As Runciman notes, the primary route to the East, bypassing the Eastern Empire, which the political circumstances of the time would have necessitated, would be by sea to Alexandria or another port in Syria, making a direct sea voyage to Jerusalem a viable option in Charlemagne's time (p. 608). Thus the route to the East would have been via Alexandria and Jerusalem, making Charlemagne's progression to Constantinople via Jerusalem in the *Pèlerinage* an accurate reflection of the logistics of travel. This makes the difference between the routes taken as described in the Welsh and French versions all the more striking. The other point worth noting is that Charlemagne was on cold terms with the Eastern Empire. The latter may be the now obscure foundation of the voyage legend, and its focus on shaming and subjugating Hugh the Emperor of Constantinople. Consequently, it seems that the original text of the *Pèlerinage* should be taken in context not only of the crusades, but also of Charlemagne's actual relations with the East and the various resulting legendary narratives.

¹²³ For example, J. J. Duggan 'The Generation of the Episode of Baligant'.

Carles li reis, nostre emep[er]e magnés,
 Set anz tuz pleins ad estet en Espaigne:
 Tresqu'en la mer cunquist la tere altaigne.¹²⁴

The Welsh text, although similar in content, adds an element that alters the mood of the passage:

Ac ny orffwyssawd ef saith mylyned o auylonydy ar y paganieit anfydlawn. Y
 dinessyd a'r keiryd a'r keystyll kedyrn a diwreidiawd a hyt y mor yr Yspæn nyt edewis
 ef gedernyt heb y diua eithr Sarragis [...]¹²⁵

And he did not cease for seven years from harrying the faithless pagans. He laid
 waste the cities and the forts and the mighty castles and as far as the sea of Spain he
 left no stronghold undestroyed except Saragossa [...]¹²⁶

The French version has a reference to Saragossa slightly further down in the text, but the phrase referring to the 'faithless pagans' appears to be a uniquely Welsh addition. Consequently, while the beginning of the French *Roland* seems to place the stress on Charlemagne's victories in Spain as generic conquests adding to his imperial might, the Welsh *Cân Roland* emphasizes the crusading nature of the campaign by introducing a specific reference to the religion and the character of the enemy.¹²⁷ This is further reinforced in the description accompanying the introduction of the character of king Marsile of Spain (Marsli in the Welsh). While the French version notes his different faith only briefly: 'Li reis Marsilie [...], ki Deu nen aimet; | Mahumet sert e Apollin reclimet', the Welsh (at least in Peniarth 10) presents a much more detailed description:¹²⁸

Marsli, vrenin yr Yspæn [...], yr hwnn petvei ganthaw fyd Catholic ni ellid caffel
 gwr brudach na gwell noc ef. A chemaint ac a oed gantho o ragoreu ac ethrylith

¹²⁴ The correction in the square brackets is the editor's; *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. by Dufournet, pp. 58–59 (trans. by Glyn Burgess, p. 29): 'Charles the king, our great emperor, | Has been in Spain for seven long years, | And conquered that proud land as far as the sea.'

¹²⁵ *Cân Roland*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, p. 102.

¹²⁶ *Cân Roland*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, p. 103.

¹²⁷ For a discussion, see Chance, 'Imagining Empire', p. 200; although she refers to what she terms the 'selfless' motives of Charlemagne's conquests in the *Ystorya*, Chance does not mention that his motives in the French version do not appear as quite so pure.

¹²⁸ *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. by Dufournet, pp. 58–59 (trans. by Burgess, p. 29): 'King Marsile, who does not love God | He serves Muhammad and calls upon Apollo.'

ympetheu ereill, hynny oll a oed ganthaw yn erbyn fyd Gristonogawl; a rwymedic o gwbyl y diwyll Mahumet yn lle Duw idaw.¹²⁹

[...] Marsli, king of Spain, than whom, if he had the Catholic faith, it would not be possible to find a man wiser or better. And as much as he had of superior qualities and skill in other matters, all that did he have [to use] against the Christian faith; and [he was] bound completely to the worship of Mahumet as his god.¹³⁰

This passage expands on the French text in what has the air of an intrusion of authorial voice.¹³¹ Its effect is to stress the negation of Marsli's good qualities through his religion represented negatively. It develops on the simpler French paradigm, which only states that this king does not love God and worships what are presumably seen as idols.¹³² The effect in the Welsh version is to reinforce the dichotomy, the opposition between Christian and non-Christian, whose similarities underline their fundamental difference. In order to be seen as a worthy opponent, Marsli has to be described in terms similar to those applied to Charlemagne's own warriors. The stress on religion which is greater than that of the French text can thus be interpreted as the result of an attempt to justify the negative representation of Marsli. It serves to explain just why the audience should side with Charlemagne's barons. It is also interesting that the fictional Appolin is removed from the Welsh version, which only refers to *Mahumet*, making its text more factually grounded than the French. Whereas in the original the addition of Appolin makes Marsile a generic pagan, by removing this reference the Welsh emphasizes the focus on Islam, and intensifies the anti-Muslim pro-crusading aspect of the text.

Further, in Marsile/Marsli's council, where, in the French version, Marsile merely asks his councillors for advice on how to avoid shame and defeat as his

¹²⁹ *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, p. 102. As Watkin notes, this passage is present only in Peniarth 10; 'French Literary Influence', p. 15. For an example of a different reading in the Welsh, see *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 113. Note, however, that Rejhon argues that Peniarth 10 is the manuscript that generally contains a text which is closer to the French versions (*Cân Rolant*, p. 58). This makes its alterations of these crucial passages all the more remarkable.

¹³⁰ *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, p. 103; the square brackets in the translation are Rejhon's.

¹³¹ Watkin also draws attention to this passage and the religious emphasis in it, without, however, producing arguments to support his conclusion; 'French Literary Influence', pp. 15–16.

¹³² Boyd, in his discussion of the passage, states that the Welsh text stays close to the French and that the comment it makes on Marsli's quality despite his religion is typical of the *chanson de geste* style, but does not provide the French; 'Celts Seen as Muslims', p. 28.

forces are small, in *Cân Rolant* a telling clause is, again, added: 'A channeat yw y ninneu o vrat gwrthlat yn gelyn, pryt na bo ynn amylder y'w wrthlat o ged-ernyt' ('And we are permitted to resist our enemy by treachery, when we have not numbers to resist him by might').¹³³ The Welsh text thus introduces, at this early stage, and thereby stresses, the theme of the *brat* ('perfidious cunning', also 'plot', 'conspiracy', 'betrayal') which it associates with Saracens.¹³⁴ This shifts the focus, therefore, from Ganelon/Gwenlwyd's treachery to that which the Welsh texts attributes to the Saracens, who, in the French version, are seen as cunning, but appear to be blamed less than the renegade knight.¹³⁵ That Gwenlwyd joins the Saracens in the Welsh version and is depicted in similar terms to them could arguably make his defection seem all the more of a metaphor for the very real historical problem of the conversion of Christians to Islam.¹³⁶

The fear of Islam as a competing religion is often given as a reason for some of the specifics of medieval European representations of it. For example, in medieval European texts, and in the *chansons de geste* in particular, Muslims are often represented as idol-worshipers, despite the fact that in reality images are forbidden in Islam.¹³⁷ Some such general trends are carried across into the Welsh tradition. For example, as has already been discussed, the term *sarassinyeit* is often interchanged with the term *paganyeit*, as it is in the *Brutiau*.¹³⁸ The terms are used interchangeably in *Roland*, for instance.¹³⁹ R. Williams suggests that this is likely to have been a reflection of the inability to distinguish the enemy by any

¹³³ *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, pp. 104–05.

¹³⁴ *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, ed. by Thomas and others, s.v. *brad*.

¹³⁵ This line appears to conflict with the praising description given to Marsile above.

¹³⁶ See for example, Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. xiv, 39, 47, 50, 72; Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*, pp. 9–11, 15, 78, 81; Coope, 'Religious and Cultural Conversion', pp. 50, 55–56, 59–60, 67–68; Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period*; Forey, 'Western Converts to Islam'.

¹³⁷ See *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, pp. 5, 205 n. 5.12 ('The *History of Charlemagne*', trans. by R. Williams, p. 87); *Historia Karoli*, ed. by Meredith-Jones, pp. 100–03. For more on this aspect of the general trend of misrepresentation in Western European medieval literature, see Bennett, 'First Crusaders' Images of Muslims', pp. 101–05; Geary, 'Arredondo's *Castillo*', p. 300.

¹³⁸ For examples in the Cycle, see for example, *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, pp. 2, 13 ('The *History of Charlemagne*', trans. by R. Williams, pp. 84, 93). This is a direct translation of the Latin, where the term *paganos* is used at that point; *Historia Karoli*, ed. by Meredith-Jones, pp. 90–91, 118–19.

¹³⁹ Kinoshita, "Pagans Are Wrong and Christians Are Right", p. 82.

other means that led to this characterization through religion.¹⁴⁰ However, it is also possible that the label *paganyeit* was used because it still carried its previous negative associations with the Scandinavian raiders. As has already been mentioned, in *Brut y Tywysogion* this term is used for the Vikings in entries belonging to the period before the start of the crusades, and for the Saracens after that.¹⁴¹ The use of the term, therefore, may not be a sign of ignorance as to the nature of the enemy or their religion, but rather of a conscious construction of the enemy's identity, designed to elicit a particular response.¹⁴²

Similarly, a general trend that was carried on and expanded in the Welsh Charlemagne Cycle is the representation of Islam as a heresy. For instance, there is a significant difference between the speech of the ambassador to Charlemagne in the French version and the Welsh version as preserved in Peniarth 10. What in the French appears as a formula: 'Salvet seiez de Deu, | Le Glorius, que de[v] u[n]s aüer!' in Welsh turns into a lengthy speech.¹⁴³ The Welsh version runs as follows:

Hanbych gwell, vrenin bonhedic, a hoedyl a iechyt yt y gan y Gwr yssyd iechyt y bop peth, yr hwnn a gymyrth knawt o'r Wryr yr prynu kenedyl dyneawl, a groget, ac a disgyynnawd y uffern yr rydhau y kaith oc eu poeneu, ac yny bei orchyuygedic aghev, a gyuodes y trydyd dyd, ac odynd a'e disgyblon yn y welet a esgyynnawd ar deheu y Dat, ac odynd ydym nineu yn aros ef yn vrawdwr.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ R. Williams, 'The *History of Charlemagne*', p. 27; for an example, *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 3, where the Saracens are designated [*k*]enedyl anfydlawn ('faithless people'); note that R. Williams translates this *anfydlawn* as 'perfidious', following the Latin use of *perfidus*, whereas the Welsh term probably merely meant 'without Christian faith'. For the Latin, see *Historia Karoli*, ed. by Meredith-Jones, pp. 92–93; cf. reference to 'faithless kings' conquered by Charlemagne in the *Pèlerinage/Pererindod*, discussed below.

¹⁴¹ Above, Chapter 2.

¹⁴² Bennett, 'First Crusaders' Images of Muslims', pp. 103–04, draws the parallel (with the caveat that he is not trying to prove any connection between the two) between the representations of the Saracens in the Western medieval texts such as the *chansons de geste*, and the representations of the non-Christian society of Scandinavia, contemporary, as he points out, with the crusades.

¹⁴³ The square brackets are the editor's; *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. by Dufournet, pp. 68–69 (trans. by Burness, p. 33): 'May God protect you, | The glorious One we must all adore!'

¹⁴⁴ *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, p. 110. As noted by Pellat and Pellat, 'L'idée de Dieu chez les "Sarrasins"', p. 16, for the *chansons de geste*, any mention of Allah is strikingly absent. Instead, the Saracens speak of God. As Watkin notes, Peniarth 10 is the only Welsh manuscript containing this passage; 'French Literary Influence', p. 17.

Greetings, noble king, and life and salvation to you from Him who is the salvation of everything, who took flesh of the Virgin to redeem the human race, was crucified, and descended into hell to free the captives from their pains, and, so that death might be overcome, rose the third day, and then, in view of his disciples, ascended to the right hand of his Father, and from that time we are awaiting Him as Judge.¹⁴⁵

This has certain echoes of the Apostles' Creed (or Common Creed), suggesting that the author of the Welsh text, and its audience, would see this speech as an attempt, on Balacawnt's side, to bring weight to his claim to conversion.¹⁴⁶ Unlike the French version, where the greeting is ambiguous, since it may well come from a practising Muslim, the Welsh version of the greeting is unequivocally Christian.¹⁴⁷ There are at least two (not necessarily mutually exclusive) possible interpretations of this phenomenon. The first interpretation is that the speech could be intended to please Charlemagne and to confirm the good faith of the ambassadors in his eyes (and their cunning in the eyes of the audience). In support of this interpretation is the evidence of the following speech in the Welsh version, where Balacawnt explicitly states that Marsli will convert, while the French speech merely refers to his being willing to follow Charlemagne into France, the implied purpose being to become Charlemagne's vassal.¹⁴⁸ This reinforces the Welsh version's stress on conversion. A second possible interpretation of the strangely Christian nature of the greeting in the Welsh version of the text is that the Christian nature of the greeting offered to Charlemagne by an as yet unconverted Muslim may be indicative of the fact that the authors meant him to be seen as a Christian heretic rather than the follower of a completely different religion.

Regardless of which interpretation is to be preferred, the passage underlines a difference in focus between the two versions: while the French is more concerned with matters imperial, the Welsh is more so with matters of contemporary religious relevance, including, in particular, conversion. This stands to reason, since, as has already been pointed out, the French political and imperial concerns were less likely to be of interest to a Welsh audience, whereas a more general pan-European crusading agenda was bound to produce more interest

¹⁴⁵ *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, p. 111.

¹⁴⁶ For a discussion of the Apostles' Creed in the medieval period, see J. D. Gordon, 'The Articles of the Creed'.

¹⁴⁷ The idea that Muslims, Jews, and Christians all worship the same God and therefore should be courteous to each other is expressed in the Qur'an (29. 46); Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 34.

¹⁴⁸ *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. by Dufournet, p. 68, ll. 135–36.

and sympathy, being less nation-specific. The translators could thus be credited with finding a common interest and stressing it over the narrow national one.¹⁴⁹ The sum total of the religious reference in the corresponding passage in the French text, apart from the initial greeting, is 'Enquis ad mult la lei de salvetez'.¹⁵⁰ Note that although the reference to baptism in the French *Roland* is present, it comes in a passage which is abbreviated in the Welsh version of the text.¹⁵¹ This may imply that the reference to baptism has merely been moved one chapter forward in the Welsh version, but does not explain the presence of the Creed. Together, these changes give the text a far more religious colouring than is evident in the French original.

This notion is confirmed by the striking difference, in the same chapters, in Charlemagne's characterization of Marsile/Marsli. Whereas in the French version, he describes Marsile as his greatest enemy, in the Welsh, he says that Marsli 'yssyd eirioet wrthwyneb y Gristonogawl fyd' ('has always been opposed to Christian faith'), shifting the focus from personal to religious opposition.¹⁵² Similarly, when Roland is arguing against Marsile's ambassadors to Charlemagne, the Welsh text adds an illuminating phrase: 'Ac nyt credadwy heuyt y vot rac llaw yn fydlon Gatholic, yr hwnn yssyd y anfydlonder yn bagan' ('Nor is it credible that he, whose faithlessness is pagan, shall be after this a faithful Catholic').¹⁵³ This phrase is absent from the French version, where Roland's emphasis is on revenge rather than on his scepticism regarding the possibility of conversion. Similarly, while the Ganelon of the French version deals in the specific (it is a bad idea, according to him, to turn away from Marsile who wants to convert), Gwenlwyd in the Welsh is concerned with generalities: 'Nyt lles ac

¹⁴⁹ Again, Watkin reaches similar conclusions (he considers this passage to be an illustration of his point regarding the 'clericalisation' of the *Cân Rolant*) but offers no explanation; 'French Literary Influence', pp. 13–14, 16–17. Note that a similar passage, albeit shorter, can be found in the Norse and Middle High German versions of the text, suggesting that something of the kind is likely to have already been contained in the Welsh redactor's source material and that he can be credited with at most expanding rather than introducing it; Poppe, 'Charlemagne in Wales and Ireland', p. 176 n. 37.

¹⁵⁰ *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. by Dufournet, pp. 68–69 (trans. by Burgess, p. 33): 'He has long sought the faith which brings salvation'.

¹⁵¹ *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. by Dufournet, pp. 70–71, ll. 151–55; cf. *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, pp. 112–13.

¹⁵² *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. by Dufournet, pp. 70–71, l. 144; *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, pp. 112–13, l. 6.

¹⁵³ *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, pp. 116–17.

nyt aduwinder gwrthlad imeith y neb a vynno ymchwelut ar fyd Gatholic' ('It is neither a benefit nor is it courtesy to repulse anyone who desires to turn to the Catholic faith').¹⁵⁴ He subsequently also makes the point about Marsli that we also find in the French text, but only after having laid out the principle.

This concern with the issues surrounding conversion requires a certain amount of contextual explanation. The evolution of the idea of Islam as heresy and the acceptability of conversion by force are traceable back to the same source, who proposed the acceptability of forced correction of heretical sects: St Augustine. Although forced conversion of the adherents of other religions went against Christian doctrine, ways were found of justifying it.¹⁵⁵ One of the justifications of forced conversion was to represent it as correction, and the religion from which the subject was being converted as a heresy, thereby opening an opportunity to find support in Augustine and his idea that in conversion free will and elements of fear, constraint, inconvenience, combine and are never altogether separate.¹⁵⁶ In *Contra Epistolam Parmeniani*, Augustine stated that the Christian Roman Emperor has the right of *cohercizio*, i.e. to oppress impious cults.¹⁵⁷ Augustine's attitudes towards coercion evolved in the context of his struggle against the Donatists and therefore his arguments for forced conversion are to be taken in the context of fighting heresy rather than idolatry.¹⁵⁸ However, they were used to build a discourse of a militant church. Early proponents of forced conversion or, at least, a militant church, also include Ambrose and Pope Gregory I (c. 540–604), who introduced the idea of a war fought to subjugate pagans for the purposes of making missionary activity among them

¹⁵⁴ *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, pp. 118–19.

¹⁵⁵ L. G. Duggan, "For Force Is Not of God?", p. 49; Drake, 'Lambs into Lions', pp. 9–10, and pp. 20–21 for a discussion of the letter of the Emperor Constantine, a voice against forceful coercion; note that Constantine's view on martyrdom also conflicts with that expressed in the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*.

¹⁵⁶ P. R. L. Brown, 'St. Augustine's Attitude', p. 112.

¹⁵⁷ Augustine, *Contra epistolam Parmeniani*, cols 33–108; discussed in P. R. L. Brown, 'St. Augustine's Attitude', p. 110.

¹⁵⁸ P. R. L. Brown, 'St. Augustine's Attitude', pp. 107–16. It was common to gloss over this trend in Augustine to support religious coercion, which resulted in forced conversion at later points in history of the Western church appearing unsupported by doctrine; L. G. Duggan, "For Force Is Not of God?", pp. 49–50. For a further discussion of the proponents of the use of force in Christian doctrine, see Cowdrey, 'Christianity and the Morality of Warfare', pp. 177–78.

possible.¹⁵⁹ Ultimately, some, like St Bernard, went even further, so far as to preach the extermination of 'pagans'.¹⁶⁰

If Islam were painted as a heresy, it would be possible to deal with it on Augustine's terms, opening the opportunity to introduce conversion (as correction) as one of the ways of combating this new religion, or, rather, heresy.¹⁶¹ As noted by John Tolan, many French epics contain a stereotyped image of paganism, elements of which are present in *Roland*, where the Saracens worship an anti-Trinity of Mahomet, Apollin, and Tervagant.¹⁶² Like the idol-worshipping already mentioned, this is, of course, completely alien to Islam, where the Christian worship of the Trinity is criticized.¹⁶³ While it is likely that Saracens and their religion tend to be represented as the mirror-image of the Christians in French literary traditions because the authors of the texts were aiming to

¹⁵⁹ Latham, 'Theorizing the Crusades', p. 234; Erdmann, *Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens*, pp. 5–8 and notes; Drake, 'Lambs into Lions', pp. 3–4, 11–12; Villey, *La croisade*, p. 22; L. G. Duggan, "'For Force Is Not of God?'" pp. 53–54; indeed, as Duggan argues, forceful conversion was never too far from Christian doctrine in the first place. For examples in Augustine's writings, see sermons 24 and 62, in *Sermonum classes quatuor*, cols 162–67, 414–23. For more on Pope Gregory I, see Neil and Del Santo, eds, *A Companion to Gregory the Great* (pp. xvii–xviii for dates).

¹⁶⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistola CDLVII*, cols 651–52. Villey, *La croisade*, p. 32. This links to the idea of just war, not only in terms of battle but also in terms of shift in object, since, as Gilchrist notes, the Augustinian concept of 'just war' was directed primarily against internal enemies of the Church; according to Gilchrist, it did not lie at the back of Urban II's 1095 ideology of crusade ('The Erdmann Thesis', p. 38). For more on the interaction between the 'just war' concept and crusading practice, see Cowdrey, 'Christianity and the Morality of Warfare', p. 188 and the discussion below.

¹⁶¹ Drake, 'Lambs into Lions', p. 28; Pellat and Pellat, 'L'idée de Dieu chez les "Sarrasins"', p. 10; Schibanoff, 'Worlds Apart', pp. 70, 72–73, 93. Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 178, 257, 195; Hamilton, 'Knowing the Enemy', pp. 380–81; Burns, 'Christian-Islamic Confrontation'; Hanson, 'Manuel I Comnenus and the "God of Muhammad"', p. 60; Lomax, 'Frederick II', pp. 178, 183 and pp. 191–92 n. 7 for additional bibliography on the subject. For the medieval idea of Islam as heresy, see Frassetto, 'The Image of the Saracen as Heretic', pp. 1–15; for the expression of this idea in Chaucer, for example, see Schibanoff, 'Worlds Apart', p. 62. See also Cutler, 'First Crusade' and Waltz, 'Historical Perspectives' for a debate on whether conversion played a role in the Crusades before the thirteenth century.

¹⁶² See essays in Tolan, ed., *Medieval Christian Perceptions*, p. xiv; see also *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. by Dufournet, p. 28; Meredith-Jones, 'The Conventional Saracen', p. 208, and Bennett, 'First Crusaders' Images', p. 105. For a thorough, albeit slightly dated study of the representations of the Saracens in the *chansons de geste*, see Comfort, 'The Character Types of the Old French Chansons de Geste', pp. 404–31.

¹⁶³ Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 36.

represent Islam as a heresy, in the Welsh adaptation that depiction took a different turn.¹⁶⁴ Marsli in the Welsh text is depicted as an enemy of Christendom, and subverts Christian discourse to trick Charlemagne into thinking that he is ready to accept conversion. The issue of forced conversion, too, is not altogether avoided, and, indeed, gains prominence in the Welsh translation.

The accusation of forced conversion levied against Charlemagne in *Otuel* by the Saracen Clarel, is a case in point.¹⁶⁵ Unlike the Welsh, which makes an explicit reference to forced conversion, in the French text Clarel stresses Charlemagne's age and feebleness, rather than his conquests and exploits and makes no mention of forced conversion.¹⁶⁶ The addition of direct accusation to the Welsh text suggests that the Welsh translator was aware of the issues surrounding the concept of forced conversion, but solved the problem by putting the condemnation of the practice into the mouth of the enemy. The Welsh text thus appears to reflect contemporary issues to a greater extent than the original. The fact that this accusation of forced conversion echoes Charlemagne's actions in the beginning of *Cronicl Turpin* (which in this respect follows the original faithfully) where Charles kills those who do not wish to convert, suggests that, when shaping the Cycle into a single whole, the Welsh redactor(s) had taken a hand to these elements in particular.¹⁶⁷

Within the Cycle, the theme of conversion is bound to that of crusade. The justification for battle against Saracens in the text is given in terms of repelling an invasion. This can be compared to the rationale commonly produced by contemporary commentators, including Gerald, for the crusades to the Holy Land: to 'liberate' Jerusalem.¹⁶⁸ While the conversion of pagans by force, as in the Cycle, would not have been a staple part of the canon law tradition, the idea of 'just war', which came to be applied to the crusades, can be found in several places.¹⁶⁹ At the origins of the tradition lies Isidore's definition: 'Justum

¹⁶⁴ Comfort, 'The Character Types of the Old French Chansons de Geste', p. 410; Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 126.

¹⁶⁵ *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 90 ('The History of Charlemagne', trans. by R. Williams, p. 154).

¹⁶⁶ *Otinél*, ed. by Guessard and Michelant, p. 48.

¹⁶⁷ *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 3 ('The History of Charlemagne', trans. by R. Williams, p. 85); *Historia Turpini*, ed. by Meredith-Jones, p. 96.

¹⁶⁸ Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, I. i, ed. by Dimock, p. 13 (trans. by Thorpe, p. 74).

¹⁶⁹ Gilchrist, 'The Erdmann Thesis', pp. 38–39; Cowdrey, 'Christianity and the Morality of Warfare', p. 188.

bellum est, quod ex praedicto geritur de rebus repetitis, aut propulsandorum hostium causa' ('A just war is that which is waged in accordance with a formal declaration and is waged for the sake of recovering property seized or of driving off the enemy'), which subsequently found its way into the canon law collections of Ivo of Chartres and of Gratian, among others.¹⁷⁰ To take an instance, Gratian's *Decretum* (c. 1140) gives three causes for a 'just war': repelling an invasion, recovering property, and avenging injuries.¹⁷¹ All three of these are produced on Charlemagne's behalf in the Cycle. The cities and lands subjugated by Aigolant in *Cronicle Turpin* Chapter XIII are described as belonging to Charlemagne, even though he had conquered them only recently (from the Saracens), and so the Saracens' conquest of these cities is represented as an invasion.¹⁷² Thus Charlemagne's campaign against Aigolant is 'just war' according to Gratian's definition, because its goal is repelling an invasion and recovering property. Following Gratian, both Rufinus of Bologna in his *Summa Decretorum* (1157×1159) and Sicard of Cremona (d. 1215) in his *Summa Decretorum* (1179×1181), saw just war as military action against an enemy who deserved to be punished or for protection of faith and country.¹⁷³ In *Otuel* there is an echo of the same way of thinking when the barons promise to never allow Saracens to possess France.¹⁷⁴ At the end of the text, Garsi is also quoted giving up his ambition to conquer it.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁰ Isidore, *Etymologies*, XVIII. 1, ed. by Lindsay and trans. by Barney and others, p. 359. Ivo, *Decretum*, 10. 116, ed. by Brett and others <http://project.knowledgeforge.net/ivo/decretum/ivodec_10_1p4.pdf> [accessed 3 February 2014], p. 50. *Panormia* 8. 54, ed. by Brasington and others <http://project.knowledgeforge.net/ivo/panormia/pan_8_1p4.pdf> [accessed 3 February 2014], p. 30; Gratian, *Decretum*, II. xxiii. 2. i, ed. by Friedberg, p. 894. See also F. H. Russell, *The Just War*, pp. 62–64 and nn. 24 and 28.

¹⁷¹ F. H. Russell, *The Just War*, p. 64; II. XXIII. 2. 2, ed. by Friedberg, p. 894.

¹⁷² Chapter XII in Meredith-Jones's edition (pp. 128–31); *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 17 ('The *History of Charlemagne*', trans. by R. Williams, p. 96).

¹⁷³ Schmandt, 'Fourth Crusade', p. 200; Rufinus, *Summa Decretorum*, ad causam 23 q. 2, ed. by Singer, p. 405. Sicard's *Summa* does not appear to have been edited; a manuscript sometimes used in discussions is: London, BL, Additional MS 18567. For more on Rufinus and Sicard, see Häring, 'Commentary and Hermeneutics', p. 184. See also Kedar, *Franks, Muslims and Oriental Christians*, p. 329.

¹⁷⁴ *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, pp. 48–49 ('The *History of Charlemagne*', trans. by R. Williams, p. 122); *Otinell*, ed. by Guessard and Michelant, pp. 6–7.

¹⁷⁵ *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 106 ('The *History of Charlemagne*', trans. by R. Williams, p. 166); *Otinell*, ed. by Guessard and Michelant, p. 62.

The third justification, avenging injuries, is also given to Charlemagne's campaign.¹⁷⁶ It occurs in its most recognizable form in Roland's speech in the *Cronicl Turpin*.¹⁷⁷ As Roland maintains in his address to Christ, he had left his country 'yr kynnal dy dedyf di a'th Gristonogaeth' ('to maintain Thy law and Thy Christianity').¹⁷⁸ Not only that, but his companions, he says, addressing God, 'doethant y allduded y wrthlad Sarassinyeit, ac y gynnal dy enw, a dedyf Gristonogaeth, a dial dy waet' ('they came into a strange land to fight the Saracens, to maintain Thy name and the Christian law, and to avenge Thy blood').¹⁷⁹ The last part of the section quoted is important for two reasons. In the first place, it is one of Gratian's justifications of a 'just war': revenge. The second reason for the importance of this phrase in Roland's speech is that it relates to, and sheds some light on, the confusion apparent elsewhere in our texts between Saracens and Jews.¹⁸⁰ As Jean Flori points out, as far as sanctified war was concerned, the quality of the enemy (heretic or pagan) was considered to be largely immaterial, it was the objective of defending the interests of the church that defined the war.¹⁸¹ There thus appears to be a correspondence between canon law and the Cycle, suggesting that the authors of the latter may have been aware of and consciously echoing the former. Their Orient is the contemporary Orient and their concerns are also contemporary. Whilst the connection between canon law and crusade discourse has been debated, they appear, nevertheless, to come together in our texts.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁶ This is also, according to Flori, a justification of the crusades; 'Mort et martyre des guerriers vers 1100', p. 123.

¹⁷⁷ Watkin quotes the passage as one of his examples for what he calls the 'clericalisation' of the *Cân Rolant*. However, in the Welsh text this is part of the *Cronicl Turpin*. Watkin also does not discuss it beyond noting that it is 'the glorification of the crusading spirit' and that it only occurs in Peniarth 10; 'French Literary Influence', pp. 19–23.

¹⁷⁸ *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, pp. 158–59 ('The History of Charlemagne', trans. by R. Williams, p. 202); *Historia Karoli*, ed. by Meredith-Jones, pp. 194–97.

¹⁷⁹ *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 160 ('The History of Charlemagne', trans. by R. Williams, p. 203); *Historia Karoli*, ed. by Meredith-Jones, pp. 198–201. The Latin version of this passage is discussed by Throop, who points out that vengeance is a crucial theme in this text and that a number of thirteenth-century texts portrayed crusading as an act of vengeance; for more on crusade and vengeance particularly in the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, see Throop, *Crusading as an Act of Vengeance*, p. 127.

¹⁸⁰ See above, pp. 62–68 and 74.

¹⁸¹ Flori, 'L'Église et la Guerre Sainte', p. 458. Throop also notes that the idea of 'holy war' as revenge for God pre-dates the crusades (*Crusading as an Act of Vengeance*, p. 101); see also discussion in Cowdrey, 'Christianity and the Morality of Warfare', pp. 175–86.

¹⁸² Although, as Gilchrist notes, Gratian did not have much to say about war against

One of the side-effects of the claims to 'just war' in *Otuel* is also that they serve to underline Charlemagne's imperial claims and ambitions. The text not only represents a clash of religions but also a clash of empires. Charlemagne's blatantly offensive military action against Garsi is depicted as self-defence in the light of his extensive imperial claims. The Italian cities taken by Garsi are represented as Charlemagne's possessions, in the same way as the Spanish cities are in the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*.¹⁸³ As Otuel taunts Charlemagne in the beginning of the tale, he claims that Charlemagne's own city of Rome has been destroyed.¹⁸⁴ This implies that not only is the Charlemagne of this narrative posing imperial claims, and among them, a claim to Rome, but that these are acknowledged by other characters, even his opponents. We will return to the subject of empire in the discussion of Arthur's and Charlemagne's rivalling legends in Chapter 4.

In addition to just war and forced conversion, themes which appear to reflect a reality of dealing with the contemporary Orient, examples of voluntary conversion can also be found in the Cycle. These can be interpreted as a way of bringing biblical significance back to the Orient (the contemporary Orient), by bringing Christianity back to it. In these cases the Welsh texts for the most part faithfully follow the French originals. The *Cronicl Turpin*, for example, contains instances of conversion where the initiative seems to come from the non-Christian, albeit even these instances are often accompanied by at least a suggestion of force.¹⁸⁵ Conversion is the central theme of the second tale in the Cycle, *Otuel* and of its original, *Otinell*. However, again, it is in the Welsh text that the theme of conversion is reinforced. In the French version, prior to the battle which is to lead to Otinel's conversion, Roland boasts only that he will either vanquish or kill Otinel, making no reference to religion: 'Je ne lairai, por nul home vivant, | Que ne te rende tout vancu en estant, | Ou de la mort

pagans ('The Erdmann Thesis', p. 40), passages relating to it can be found in: II. XXIII. 8. 7; XII. 8. 9, ed. by Friedberg, pp. 954–55. It has, however, been pointed out that if Urban II's letter of 1097 is genuine, then he himself also accepted the idea of vengeance as motivation for the crusade; Flori, 'Mort et martyre des guerriers vers 1100', p. 123 n. 8; Ramacker, 'Zwei unbekannte Briefe', pp. 275–76.

¹⁸³ See above, p. 119.

¹⁸⁴ *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 46 ('The *History of Charlemagne*', trans. by R. Williams, p. 120); *Otinell*, ed. by Guessard and Michelant, p. 4.

¹⁸⁵ See, for example, the episode of Aigolant's near conversion, *Ystoria*, ed. by S. J. Williams, pp. 20–22 ('The *History of Charlemagne*', trans. by R. Williams, pp. 98–99); cp. *Historia Karoli*, ed. by Meredith-Jones, pp. 136–39.

souffreras le torment' ('I will not desist for any living man, until you surrender being completely vanquished, or [until] you suffer the torment of death').¹⁸⁶ In the Welsh version a very explicit reference to conversion is introduced, with Roland promising two alternatives: he will either kill Otuel or convert him *ar ffyd gatholic* ('to the catholic faith'): 'ny pheidwn i hediw, yr dyn o'r yssyd yn vyw, yny gymhellwyf arnat tewi, ae o'th oruot ae o'th lad, ae o beri ytt ymchoelut ar ffyd gatholic' ('I will not leave off to-day for any man living until I compel thee to hold thy peace, by conquering thee, or by killing thee, or by causing thy conversion to the catholic faith').¹⁸⁷ This is a clear echo of the beginning of *Cronicl Turpin*, where Charlemagne kills those Saracens who refuse conversion in the Spanish cities that he has taken.¹⁸⁸ Note, however, that Roland's attempts to convert his opponent by talking to him during combat are the same in both versions. This is similar to an episode in *Cronicl Turpin*, where Roland attempts to convert a Saracen giant.¹⁸⁹ Yet even in the combat scene itself *Otuel* adds an extra religious element: there is no equivalent in the French original to the invocation of Jesus and the Virgin Mary in a blessing for Roland by those present at the battle.¹⁹⁰ This is yet another confirmation of the religious reorientation of the Welsh Cycle. Ultimately, Otuel's conversion is voluntary.

An illustrative instance of voluntary conversion and another of representation of a different religion as a heresy occur in the *Pèlerinage/Pererindod* narrative, which stands out amongst the rest of the Cycle texts in both its lack of Saracens and its presence of other religious denominations. In the first place, there is an instance of voluntary conversion from Judaism in the text, in the episode of Charlemagne's visit to Jerusalem. The episode runs as follows in the original version:

Uns iudeus i entrat ki ben lout esgardet
 Cum il vit karle cumencat a trembler
 Tant out fer le uisage nel osat esgarder

¹⁸⁶ *Otinél*, ed. by Guessard and Michelant, p. 11; the translation is mine.

¹⁸⁷ *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 52 ('The History of Charlemagne', trans. by R. Williams, p. 125).

¹⁸⁸ *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 3 ('The History of Charlemagne', trans. by R. Williams, p. 85); *Historia Karoli*, ed. by Meredith-Jones, p. 96.

¹⁸⁹ *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, pp. 27–32 ('The History of Charlemagne', trans. by R. Williams, pp. 105–08); *Historia Karoli*, ed. by Meredith-Jones, p. 160; cf. *Turpini Historia*, ed. by Castets, p. 31.

¹⁹⁰ *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 54; *Otinél*, ed. by Guessard and Michelant, p. 12.

A poi que il ne chet fuant sen est turnet
 E si muntet de lais tuz les marbrins degrez
 Vint al patriarche prist len a parler
 Alez sire al musterer pur les funz aprester
 Orendreit me frai baptizer e leuer
 Duze cuntes ui ore en cel musterer entrer
 Oueoc euls le trezime unc ne ui si formet
 Par le men escientre co est meimes deus
 Il e li duze apostle uus venent uisiter.¹⁹¹

A Jew entered and stared at him. When he saw Charles he began to tremble: so fierce was Charles's countenance that he dared not look upon him and almost fell to the ground. He turned and fled, rushing up the marble steps and coming to the patriarch with the words: 'Come to the church, Lord, to prepare the fonts. I wish to be baptized forthwith, for I have just seen twelve counts enter the church and with them a thirteenth. I have never seen anyone so striking in appearance and, if I am not mistaken, it is God himself. He and the twelve apostles have come to visit you.'¹⁹²

As can be seen from this passage, the Jew is prompted to convert on seeing Charlemagne in a church and taking him for God because of his fierce and striking appearance. In the Welsh version, whilst the effect on the Jew remains the same, the details of its cause undergo some alteration:

Ac yn eu hol o bell, gan disgwyl arnadunt, y dathod Idew o'r dinas, ac y deuth y'r eglwys, a gwelet y brenhin yn eisted yn y gadeir berued, a'r niuer anrydedus hwnnw yn y gylch yn y kadeireu ereill. Yna yd aeth diruawr olyn ar yr Idew, a llithraw allan yn gymrawws a oruc o'r eglwys. Ac ual y gallwys gyntaf ef a doeth att y padriarch, ac a erchis idaw y uedydyaw, ac a dywawt wrth y pedriarch bot yn yr eglwys Crist a'e deudec ebystyl y gyt ac ef.¹⁹³

Now there had come after them afar off a Jew from the city who kept looking at them, until he came into the church and saw the king sitting in the central chair and that illustrious band about him in the other chairs. Then great fear came upon the Jew so that he slipped out of the church frightened, and as fast as he could he came to the patriarch to ask him to baptize him; he told the patriarch that there were in the church Christ and his twelve apostles with him.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ *Le voyage de Charlemagne*, ed. by Aebischer, p. 38.

¹⁹² *The Pilgrimage*, trans. by Burgess and Cobby, p. 37.

¹⁹³ *Ystorya de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 183.

¹⁹⁴ *History of Charlemagne*, trans. by Rhys, pp. 22–23.

The focus shifts from Charlemagne's appearance to his position in Christ's chair among twelve companions. While in the original the action of Charlemagne and his barons taking the seats of the bishop and the concelebrants in the exedra already represents an appropriation of ecclesiastical authority in that the symbolism of Christ presiding (which had been associated with the figure of the bishop) is transferred onto Charlemagne, in the Welsh translation the implied appropriation of the Christ image is made explicit.¹⁹⁵ All reference to Charlemagne's appearance is removed in the translation. The result of this is that the Jew is struck not by Charlemagne's face, as in the French original, but by what is, from his point of view, a miracle of Christ and his twelve apostles returning to the earth and appearing before him, taking their proper seats in the church. Thus even here the Welsh version introduces subtle alterations to emphasize and explicitly articulate the religious element in the text. However, the outcome of this is the same as in the French version: the Jew is baptized, and the Patriarch comes to see Charlemagne and ultimately presents him with gifts of relics. The baptism of the Jew in Jerusalem could be seen as the tale's way of presenting a reconquest of the Holy City by Christians. If this interpretation is correct, it ties the episode into the tale's overarching concern with bringing other religions under Catholic Christian sway. It is possible that this episode might not be as extraneous an element of the text as may at first be thought. Its inclusion in the Welsh version is also therefore appropriate to the theme not only of the *Pererindod* but also of the Cycle as a whole.

Indeed, the subjugation of other religious denominations through conversion, which is a theme traceable through the entire Cycle, may explain the incorporation of the *Pererindod* in the collection. The representation of Hugh, the Byzantine emperor, as a heretic, and his subsequent subjugation (albeit not conversion), fits with the thematic makeup of the Cycle, even if the somewhat burlesque nature of the *Pèlerinage* may have prompted questions about the degree to which it fits with the genres of the other texts in the Cycle. In the Welsh text Hugh's Christianity is described as follows:

A gwedy yd adolwyf ved yr Arglwyd, darpar yw gennyf vynet at gyndrycholder
Hu Gadarn, vrenhin Corstinabyl, a giglev gorhofder a ragor clot idaw rac ereill;

¹⁹⁵ For more on the exedra and the bishop's throne, see Bandmann, *Early Medieval Architecture*, p. 174; Murray, Murray, and Jones, *The Oxford Dictionary of Christian Art*, s.v. *apse, exedra*. The origins of the exedra lie in the construction design of Roman basilicas, where it provided a space of authority, from which a judge or even the emperor himself may have presided over the proceedings; see Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture*, p. 22.

yr hwnn, onyt Cristawn da, a darestyngaf y Gristonogawl ffyd, mal y delleis ac yd
ystygeis hyt hynn deudec brenhin anffydllawn.¹⁹⁶

After I have adored the sepulchre of the Lord, it is my intention to go to the presence of Hugh the Mighty, king of Constantinople, whose great excellence has been reported to me and his fame exceeding that of others, and whom, if not a good Christian, I will subdue to the Christian faith, just as I have already blinded and subdued twelve infidel kings.¹⁹⁷

Charlemagne mentions that Hugh may not be a good Christian and states that he will subjugate him as he had hitherto subjugated twelve (other) *anffydllawn* ('faithless', i.e. non-Christian) kings. Here, Hugh is, at least from Charlemagne's point of view, potentially a bad Christian, or even a non-Christian. Indeed through this passage, Hugh ultimately is assigned to the same category as the Saracen rulers of the other part of the Cycle. In the French version, Charlemagne's claim reads: 'Duze reis ai cunquis par force e par barnez | Li trezime uois querre dunt ai oi parler' ('I have overcome twelve kings by strength and valour and am seeking the thirteenth of whom I have heard').¹⁹⁸ This is less flattering to Charlemagne than the Welsh version, as there is no reference to Hugh's not being a good Christian, which may serve as an excuse for the violence to come. Meanwhile, in the *Pererindod*, this part of Charlemagne's speech could be interpreted as setting up his visit to Constantinople as a kind of crusade.

The representation of Constantinople and of Hugh in the Welsh text appears to indicate a deep underlying mistrust, the kind of mistrust towards the Greeks that is in evidence in the writings of Gerald of Wales, and that can be argued to originate with the protagonists' (and, indeed, audience's) identification with the Trojans, or more precisely as the heirs of the Trojans.¹⁹⁹ In the Welsh version, an additional hint that the opponent here is represented as a fellow-Christian who is not quite normal is also present further in the narrative, when Hugh refuses to give his daughter to Oliver in marriage.²⁰⁰ In the French, it is Oliver

¹⁹⁶ *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 184. Compare *Le voyage de Charlemagne*, ed. by Aebischer, pp. 38–39.

¹⁹⁷ *History of Charlemagne*, trans. by Rhys, p. 23.

¹⁹⁸ *Le voyage de Charlemagne*, ed. by Aebischer, p. 38; *The Pilgrimage*, trans. by Burgess and Cobby, p. 37. For references to the perceptions of Oriental Christians as heretics, see Flori, 'L'Église et la Guerre Sainte', pp. 460–61.

¹⁹⁹ See the discussion in Chapter 1 above.

²⁰⁰ *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 203.

who refuses the match.²⁰¹ The stress in the two versions is thus markedly different. While the French focuses on the pride of the Frenchman, the Welsh seems to emphasize the strange and alien nature of Hugh, and the fact that he comes from a very distant, alien land. He is a man who refuses to give his daughter to her lover because he will take her too far from home.²⁰²

The negative attitude to the historical or legendary Greeks deserves some attention. Before we proceed, it should be noted that there are many instances of ties between the Byzantines and the West. For example, Manuel Komnenos, mentioned in Gerald's passage quoted above, is known to have engaged in negotiations with Henry II, just as Gerald tells us.²⁰³ Manuel's second wife, Maria of Antioch, was the daughter of Raymond of Poitiers (prince of Antioch 1136–49), whose niece was Eleanor of Aquitaine, Henry's wife, making their children second cousins to those of Manuel by Maria.²⁰⁴ In addition, from the Norman Conquest onwards, Englishmen were known to serve in Byzantine armies.²⁰⁵ Yet in the medieval texts, in the *Pererindod* as in Gerald, it is made abundantly clear that the Greeks are not always allies and are often enemies.²⁰⁶ This reflects a very specific medieval tradition of anti-Byzantine sentiment, widespread in Western Europe at the time, despite the ostensible purpose of the crusades being to rescue Eastern Christianity.²⁰⁷

This tradition stems from the identification with the interests of one's Trojan forebears. This attitude, or at least an attitude of mistrust, (*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*, 'I fear the Greeks, even when bringing gifts'), also characterized crusader dealings with their Greek contemporaries.²⁰⁸ Ambiguity in attitudes towards the Greeks was present throughout the period of the crusades. The first call for a crusade by Pope Urban II was couched in the terms of aid to

²⁰¹ *Le voyage de Charlemagne*, ed. by Aebischer, pp. 82–85.

²⁰² *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 203, ll. 15–16.

²⁰³ Vasiliev, 'Manuel I Comnenus and the "God of Muhammad"', p. 234.

²⁰⁴ Vasiliev, 'Manuel I Comnenus and the "God of Muhammad"', p. 240; for more on Raymond of Poitiers, see J. P. Phillips, 'A Note on the Origins of Raymond of Poitiers'.

²⁰⁵ Vasiliev, 'Manuel I Comnenus and the "God of Muhammad"', p. 240; and p. 243 for some examples in Henry's reign.

²⁰⁶ Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, III. 20, ed. by Warner, p. 274.

²⁰⁷ See Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, pp. 2–3.

²⁰⁸ Angold, 'Belle Époque or Crisis?', pp. 623–24; Throop, *Crusading as an Act of Vengeance*, p. 174; and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, pp. 2–3, 18–19, 22–24, 90–91, 98–99, and 128–29; Virgil, *Aeneid*, II. 49, ed. by Henderson and trans. by Fairclough, pp. 318–19.

the Eastern Christians, which depicted Greeks as the victims, but this idea was soon overthrown as the Byzantine Emperor reacted with apprehension to the incursion of Western Christian forces into his lands in the First Crusade, which heralded an era of distrust and mutual disappointment.²⁰⁹ Negative, or, at best, ambivalent portrayal of the Greeks is accordingly not unusual in Continental vernacular literature. Turning back to the Charlemagne texts for an example, the *Pèlerinage*, for instance, presents the Byzantine emperor as fairly welcoming but also makes it seem perfectly acceptable to take his palace apart and all but destroy his lands. The Trojan origin legends following the Virgilian tradition in depicting the Greeks as the enemy could only feed this type of representation.²¹⁰ Thus both the historical/legendary and the contemporary Greeks were seen in similar ways. In terms of the *translatio* theory this means that while the Trojan empire moved westwards in a natural progression, the Greeks remained behind in the 'contemporary Orient'.²¹¹ In a sense this means their position is similar to that of the 'Saracens' occupying Jerusalem, who are often conflated with biblical Jews. Chronological confusion or conflation, or in other words, the synchronic representation of the world, thus characterizes literary and polemical texts as much as it does geographic representations — the T-O maps, for instance, with their depictions of Adam and Eve in Paradise and the Tower of Babel still standing.

That contemporary Greeks and Jews were conflated with their respective legendary/historical or biblical forebears results in a certain similarity of representation. This similarity in their depiction was also perceived by the Western European contemporaries, as the capture of Constantinople in 1204 was compared by some commentators to the capture of Jerusalem in 1099.²¹² In this synchronic view of the world, the Greeks, the Jews, and the Saracens are left behind in the Orient by the passage of history. The fact that the Greeks were Christians and thus natural allies against the 'pagans' of the Orient is counteracted by the fact that they were Orthodox Christians, and thus not entirely

²⁰⁹ For a typical reaction of the crusaders to the encounter with the Greeks, see *Chronique Anonyme*, trans. by Matignon, pp. 39–53.

²¹⁰ See, for instance, Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, I, ed. by Reeve and trans. by Wright, pp. 6–31; and the discussion above in Chapter 1.

²¹¹ Note that while Greece is in the European part of the *mappa mundi* framework, its marginal position echoes the marginalised position of the Orthodox Greeks in crusader thought.

²¹² Barber, 'Western Attitudes to Frankish Greece', p. 112.

the same as Western Christians.²¹³ This also echoes their historical position as not simply part of the historic origins of *translatio*, but the opponents of Troy. Thus the historical opposition between Greeks and Trojans appears to cause, or at least to echo, the perceived split within the Christian world, a split that is apparent, as we have seen, in Gerald's *De principis instructione*, for instance, when the Greeks are separated from the *Alamanni* (note that here, *Hispania* is also distinguished from Europe).²¹⁴

Ultimately, the historical Orient becomes not much more than a backdrop for the contemporary Orient, so prominent in all of the texts hitherto discussed, the *Itinerarium* and *Historia regum*, as well as the Charlemagne Cycle. The latter brings together some of the major concerns of the contemporary Orient and the crusades: martyrdom, conversion (forced and voluntary), and the 'just war'. The justification for intervention in the contemporary Orient is taken both from the biblical Orient and from canon law. Just as in the *Pererindod* Charlemagne had assumed power over Jerusalem by symbolically converting a Jew and representing Christ seated among his Twelve Apostles, in *Otuel* Charlemagne is also seen as the patron or master of that other Holy City — Rome, which he needs to re-conquer from the Saracens.

The differences between the French and Welsh versions in the representation of other faiths and distant peoples appear to correspond to the different interests of their audiences. The focus has shifted from French pride and imperialism to religious and crusading values and an interest in the contemporary Orient. From the beginning of *Cronicl Turpin*, with its reference to Charlemagne fighting 'faithless pagans' in Spain, through Roland's promise to convert Otuel or kill him in *Otuel*, to the emphasis on the similarity of Charlemagne and his twelve peers to Christ and his twelve apostles in the *Pererindod*, small but significant additions to the Welsh translations of these texts weave the common religious thread throughout the Cycle.

²¹³ See Barber, 'Western Attitudes to Frankish Greece', pp. 114, 117 for further discussion of Greeks as schismatics or 'bad Christians'.

²¹⁴ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, I. 17, ed. by Warner, p. 76, III. 27 (p. 303), II. 1 (pp. 157–58). For the passage and a discussion of the representation of the Greeks, see Chapter 1 above, pp. 32–34.

CONCLUSION TO PART I

Three images of the Orient, all connected with the concept of *translatio imperii*, emerge from the works examined here. These three Orients have been designated the ‘historical Orient’, meaning the Orient of the classical world, the origin of *translatio imperii*; the ‘biblical Orient’, a timeless construct represented on the *mappae mundi*, where the significance of the locations, such as the Holy Land, derives from history but remains ageless; and finally the ‘contemporary Orient’, which is left behind by the process of *translatio* and taken over by non-Christian peoples, requiring, within this worldview, intervention in the form of the crusading endeavour. This tripartite vision of the Orient is geographical and historical in equal measure. The *translatio* component cannot be divorced from the geographical framework provided by *mappae mundi* and texts such as *Imago mundi*. The intricate connection between geography and history is particularly visible in the work of Gerald of Wales, for instance, in his attitudes to the biblical Orient and the contemporary Orient. On the one hand, in *De principis instructione* there seems to be a natural historical progression from Orient to Occident, and Gerald’s representation of the French monarchs, both the Carolingians and the Capetians, is as positive as that of the classical rulers.¹ Yet once his narrative turns to the Angevins, the description rapidly becomes negative, as does any further westward movement, such as the conquest of Ireland. Instead, the movement back to the Orient is seen as positive — an intervention to, in Gerald’s terms, ‘save’ the Holy Land and Jerusalem (the biblical Orient trapped inside the shell of the contemporary Orient). The journey to the East being regarded, in crusading rhetoric of the end of the eleventh century, ‘as a faithful expression of God’s will’.² This con-

¹ On Gerald’s admiration of the French monarchs, see Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, pp. 79–86.

² Menache, *Vox Dei*, p. 101.

nects to the third type of representation of the Orient, as a place left by history to what is seen, from the medieval Christian point of view, as 'pagan' hands, but still holy in itself, because of its timelessness. And it is that timelessness that, in this view, needs Western rescue and intervention. The movement towards the Occident thus becomes a war of conquest and oppression, while the movement towards the Orient becomes pilgrimage.

Armed with the two joined concepts of *translatio* and the three Orients, we can see that the layout of Gerald's world in *De principis instructione* not only reflects common medieval views of geography, but also the tripartite perception of the world. While his tripartite division of the geographical world corresponds to that of the *mappae mundi*, his ambiguous attitude towards the Greeks, shared by writers belonging to the traditions based on the Trojan origin legends, and evidenced, amongst our sources, in Geoffrey's *Historia regum* and in the Charlemagne Cycle, which also reflects the ambiguous position of Greece between Orient and Occident in medieval geographical thought, is already a by-product of his vision of the contemporary Orient. Indeed, the relevance of contemporary European crusading discourse in the works examined here is clear, as the contemporary Orient features particularly strongly. Whilst historical sources such as *Brut y Tywysogion* have hitherto been regarded primarily as witnesses to Welsh participation and interest in the crusades themselves, they also, crucially, furnish evidence of the spread and influence of crusading discourse in the medieval period, providing some context for the uniformity of language and attitude which we find in our sources. The evidence of manuscripts of *Imago mundi* that had passed through Welsh hands, alongside the existence of two versions of *Delw y byd*, which represent two independent translations of *Imago mundi* into Welsh dating from the beginning of the thirteenth century, and thus roughly contemporary to Gerald's *De principis instructione*, is also an indication of an increased interest in geography at the time, and the uniformity of geographical knowledge.

The cumulative picture provided by both historical and literary sources thus appears to be that of the increase of interest in the affairs of the Holy Land towards the end of the twelfth century, and an increase in the flow of information regarding the Orient in the same period and continuing into the thirteenth century. This interest in the contemporary Orient seems to be linked in particular with the concern for the eternal biblical Orient, and the targeted preaching of the Third Crusade in Wales. While interest in the historical Orient appears to also have been boosted by this phenomenon, it is also present earlier (alongside certain contemporary echoes), in Geoffrey's work, which in turn has thematic reverberations in a wide variety of texts, including *Leges Eduardi*,

the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, and Trojan origin legends.³ Interest in the Orient seems not so much to have appeared as grown in the course of the events outlined above, and most of the information that became available in this period seems to have been heavily ideologically loaded and coloured by dominant European trends in thinking about and engaging with the Orient.

Crusade-related and crusade-influenced discourse in Wales has been shown to be connected with Cistercian activities in Wales and is illustrated by *Brut y Tywysogion* in conjunction with other sources, including Gerald's *Itinerarium* and the Charlemagne Cycle. We have seen, for example, attempts to represent the enemy faced by the crusaders, and the ensuing conflation of ethnic identities, with *sarassinyeit* ('Saracens'), *paganyeit* ('pagans'), and *idewon* ('Jews') used interchangeably not only in *Brut y Tywysogion* but also in, for example, a poem of Elidir Sais. Ways of thinking about the Orient appear to have been influenced by the crusade phenomenon.

While the increased amount of crusade-type rhetoric attested in the Welsh Charlemagne Cycle may derive from those versions of the texts that they were translated from, it attests to their belonging to that side of the tradition which explicitly linked these Charlemagne legends to contemporary crusading concerns. The themes of martyrdom and conversion, linked to the idea of 'just war', are stressed to a greater degree in the Welsh Cycle than they are in the original versions of its component texts and serve as a unifying element. Greater importance is given in the Welsh Cycle to the issue of religion than there is in the original texts, possibly as a function of the transfer of the text from one cultural and political milieu to another.⁴ The Welsh audience were less likely to be interested in French imperial concerns and therefore these concerns had to be replaced with something else. The logical choice for the replacement were the crusades, a theme already present in the original. The most significant difference on the level of detail which demonstrates contemporary relevance is, perhaps, in the description of the route taken by Charlemagne to Jerusalem. The differences between the itineraries as given in the French and Welsh versions

³ Two major interrelated elements in *Historia regum* also demonstrate a concern with the Orient: the Trojan origin legend (historical Orient), and the references to contemporary Eastern rulers integrated into the list of Rome's allies in the campaign against Arthur (contemporary Orient). The former can be analysed as containing elements of *translatio*, where Troy represents both Oriental origins of empire, and the biological forebears of the present occupants of the Isle of Britain.

⁴ For other instances of adaptation to new cultural contexts, see Poppe, 'Owein, Ystoria Bown and the Problem of "Relative Distance"', particularly p. 81.

probably reflect the difference between actual travel routes possible at the time of different crusades. While the French version appears to be more appropriate for the time of the First Crusade, the Welsh seems to represent the routes likely to be taken during the Third Crusade at the earliest. This may reflect Welsh knowledge of crusading routes in the late-twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. It may also be an indication of the close relationship between the Cycle and Welsh interest in the crusades. While it could be argued that the changes had been made prior to the translation of the texts and were not the work of the Welsh redactors or translators, it seems most likely that they were introduced when the Cycle was being brought together. Other innovations in the Welsh versions of these texts seem to relate well to elements present in other parts of the Welsh tradition.

The Welsh translation of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, as we have seen, is considered to date from the mid-thirteenth century. Although Archbishop Baldwin's tour of 1188 probably predated the translation of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, the possibility of Cistercian involvement in both the tour and the translation is suggestive of a connection.⁵ If the Cistercians in Wales were responsible for a large part of both the crusade propaganda, and the propagation of literature, it stands to reason that they would wish to bring to a Welsh-speaking audience the stories about Charlemagne's vassals battling Saracens. Whether this idea originated with the order itself or with the possible Marcher patrons of the translators, the involvement of both parties is likely.⁶ Indeed, there is a Cistercian element in the currently accepted theory of the transmission of the Charlemagne Cycle into Welsh.⁷ It therefore appears that the Cistercians were involved in Wales both in the preservation and transmission of literature and in the propagation of the crusades. Furthermore, they seem to have combined the two roles, and this combination influenced their output: the literary production of the Cistercians became heavily influenced by the techniques of crusade preaching and came to reflect the contemporary crusade reality.

Also in the context of crusades and the contemporary Orient, the campaign against Rome in *Historia regum* appears to represent the clash of East and West. A similar argument, of Arthur as the representative of the West in battle

⁵ See above, and also Edbury, 'Preaching the Crusade in Wales', p. 224; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 71, 77. Watkin may be going too far, however, in linking the translations of *Otinell* and *Roland* directly to the 1188 tour ('French Literary Influence', p. 55).

⁶ A similar point is made by Roberts, 'Oral Tradition and Welsh Literature', p. 75.

⁷ *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, pp. 26–29, 74.

against the East, has been made by Michelet in relation to Malory.⁸ According to Michelet, in establishing Britain as the final stage of the *translatio imperii*, Malory follows a tradition articulated by Geoffrey (who played a crucial role in promulgating the Trojan *translatio* in the British tradition). Taken together with the representation of Arthur as waging ‘holy war’ against ‘pagans’ (Saxons, in this case), and the parallels with Charlemagne, whose campaigns against pagan Saxons appear to have helped convert him into the legendary figure battling for the sake of Christendom against Saracens, the East versus West opposition in *Historia regum* appears to acquire greater significance. It has been argued that Arthur in the *Historia regum* is in the process of being transformed into a protector of Christendom. Once that protector of Christendom is pitched against Rome’s Eastern allies who bear the names of Muslim rulers contemporary to Geoffrey himself, the historical opponents of the crusaders, his campaign itself begins to resemble a crusading reference, and a battle against the contemporary Orient (for possession of the biblical Orient). It seems reasonable to propose that if, as Tatlock suggests, the names of contemporary Eastern rulers would be easily recognized by Geoffrey’s audience, this audience would also grasp the contemporary political implications of pitching Arthur as a British imperial figure against these opponents. It is also possible to see Arthur’s campaign against Rome as a sign of the independent imperial power of Britain, and of the two powers’ equal status (as a South-Eastern versus a North-Western empire) in the light of *translatio* of the *imperium* from Troy to Britain earlier in the *Historia regum*. The subject of Arthur’s engagement with the Orient is taken further in the following chapters, particularly in relation to the Welsh reinterpretations of the Charlemagne epos.

The following discussion engages with the effect that this information and interest in the Orient had on the medieval Welsh literary output, applying the framework of *translatio* and the three Orients to texts composed in Wales and in Welsh. The Welsh traditions of Alexander the Great and Arthur are compared to the legendary construction of Charlemagne, and re-evaluated in the light of the theory of *translatio studii et imperii*.

⁸ Michelet, ‘East and West in Malory’s Roman War’; Michelet’s stress is on the conflicting movements of East to West and West to East, and the idea of *translatio studii et imperii*, similar to the arguments presented above regarding *De principis instructione*; see also Petrovskaja, ‘East and West’.

Part II

The Impact on Literature

SPEAKING OF INDIA: ALEXANDER, CULHWCH, AND PEREDUR

Whilst the Charlemagne Cycle presents a set of materials translated into Welsh and transposed from their ‘native’ environment into a new cultural and linguistic context, the Welsh literary tradition also features a foreign legend which, whilst represented in no translated texts, survives in several native ones — that of Alexander the Great. This material is significant because of its relevance to *translatio*. Alexander himself represents the historical Orient and often features in *translatio*-type sequences of rulers within *exempla*. His legend itself is a case of *translatio studii*. From medieval Wales, only two poems relating to Alexander the Great survive.¹ The two poems, known as ‘Alexander I’ and ‘Alexander II’, are preserved in the Book of Taliesin: NLW, MS Peniarth 2 (South-East Wales, Cwm-hir?, s. xiv¹).² While they are based on a Continental tradition, they were composed in Wales and thus constitute ‘native’ texts. Since many recensions of the Alexander material existed in the Middle Ages, it is difficult to determine which of them the Welsh texts derive from.³ Their accounts have been found by Marged Haycock to cor-

¹ *Legendary Poems*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, pp. 404–22, 423–32.

² For more on the manuscript, see *Legendary Poems*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, pp. 1–9, and *MWM*, pp. 15, 59, 65, 77–79, esp. plate 9 on p. 78.

³ For a discussion of the dissemination of the Alexander legend in Europe, see *The Gestes of King Alexander of Macedon*, ed. by Magoun, pp. 22–70. By the end of the twelfth century Western Europe was flooded by Alexander ‘Romances’ and other material related to this figure. According to Haycock, no Welsh prose Alexander material survives from before the sixteenth century, and no hint of a Welsh translation of any Latin, French, or Anglo-Norman Alexander

respond, in their salient features, to that in Book III of Orosius's *Historiæ aduersum paganos*, although, as Haycock notes, no known copies of Orosius of Welsh provenance survive, even though the text was extremely popular in the Middle Ages.⁴ Although Haycock suggests that the source of the information in these poems was probably Orosius's Latin text, there is also the possibility (which she acknowledges) that the source could have been a text based on Orosius, or, indeed, hear-say, or knowledge acquired over time.⁵

The date of the poems is uncertain, with possibilities ranging from the ninth to the early thirteenth century (if authored, as some of the other poetry in the Book of Taliesin may have been, by Llywarch ap Llywelyn 'Prydydd y Moch').⁶ 'Alexander I' deals with Alexander's conquests and death; passing judgment on him as a ruler. In terms of the latter feature the poem seems to be echoing the *exempla* tradition already referred to in relation to *De principis instructione*, presenting historical/legendary figures as examples of either good or bad rulership.

'Alexander I' is best discussed alongside *Culhwch*. 'Alexander II' reflects the mystical aspect of the character's story, recounting his legendary adventures, such as his travels under water and with griffons in the sky. Whilst not making any explicit references to Oriental locations, this poem contains some features which reflect the Oriental associations of the hero. Alexander is said to see the 'world in its entirety' while being carried by griffons, birds which in *Delw y byd* are variously referred to as *adar y griffyt*, *griffonyeit*, *griffes*, or *grues* and are associated with India, as the constant opponents of the Pygmies (*Pigeneos*) and Macrobianes (*Macrobios*).⁷ The contents of 'Alexander II' thus seem to be

texts, despite the popularity of such translations in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; Haycock, 'Some Talk of Alexander and Some of Hercules', p. 24 and *Legendary Poems*, p. 410; and Foster's edition for Thomas of Kent's Anglo-Norman *Alexander*. There are several witnesses of Welsh translations of *Secretum Secretorum*, a Latin translation of an Arabic treatise, originally purporting to be Greek, containing the supposed letters of Aristotle to Alexander; *Legendary Poems*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, p. 410; Grignaschi, 'L'origine et les métamorphoses'.

⁴ Gunderson, *Alexander's Letter to Aristotle about India*, p. 35; Haycock, 'Some Talk of Alexander and Some of Hercules', pp. 19–20 and *Legendary Poems* pp. 404, 409, 425; Orosius, *Seven Books of History*, ed. by Raymond; cf. the text of Orosius in *The Gests of King Alexander of Macedon*, ed. by Magoun. Note that Orosius was known in Brittany, as attested by Breton glosses in Orosius manuscripts; see Léon Fleuriot and Claude Evans, *Dictionary of Old Breton*; Anscombe, 'Ormestā', Haycock, 'Some Talk of Alexander and Some of Hercules', p. 20.

⁵ *Legendary Poems*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, pp. 404, 407, 409; also Breeze, 'Orosius'.

⁶ Haycock, 'Some Talk of Alexander and Some of Hercules', p. 17, and *Legendary Poems*, pp. 27–36; Tristram, 'More Talk of Alexander'.

⁷ *Legendary Poems*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, p. 428; *Delw y byd*, ed. by Lewis and

at least implicitly associated with Alexander's conquest of India and the marvels he encounters, and to fit within the tradition of the *Letter to Aristotle*. The fact that the marvellous journey of Alexander recounted begins in India is not mentioned. However, it could be argued that the reference to griffons serves as an implicit indication of the location. Its association with Aristotle also carries an association with a search for knowledge. The poem also fits with the theme of marvellous travel/change in search for arcane wisdom, which characterizes the poems associated with the figure of Taliesin preserved in the same manuscript and it is therefore possible that this poem has a function of connecting the Alexander poems thematically with the rest of the material in it.⁸

Meanwhile, 'Alexander I', the 'historical poem', contains a sequence of Oriental place-names (ll. 15–20). Some of these are straightforwardly identifiable.⁹ Syria, Persia, Babylon, and Macedonia present no difficulty.¹⁰ Apart from Persia, they also all occur in *Delw y byd*, suggesting that these place-names would also have been familiar to anyone acquainted with the geographical tradition which that text represents. Various arguments can be made about the other place-names in the list. Their origin poses an interesting problem which both Marged Haycock and Andrew Breeze go some way to solving. Breeze's suggestion of Tyrus for *Syr*, which is supported by a variant reading *Syros* for Tyrus in *Delw y byd*, is an example. Haycock has compared the list of place-names in 'Alexander I' to that in *Culhwch*, suggesting that both lists contain genuine place-names along with garbled or misunderstood ones, as well as ones which are pure invention, primarily dictated by the constraints of internal rhyme.¹¹ She gives some suggestions for the geographical locations in question in her commentary.¹² Breeze takes Haycock's arguments regarding the possible origin of the place-names in Orosius further, arguing that all of the place-names in this poem can be found in Orosius.¹³ A complete list of the place-names is

Diverres, pp. 29, 87. Indeed, *Delw y byd* also provides evidence of an association between Alexander the Great and griffons, as the Macedonian king is referred to just a short while before the griffons are mentioned in the text; *Delw y byd*, ed. by Lewis and Diverres, p. 29.

⁸ *Legendary Poems*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, pp. 5, 357–69, 514–39.

⁹ *Legendary Poems*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, pp. 412–13.

¹⁰ Haycock does not include Macedonia in her list of straightforwardly identifiable names, because it is not part of the list proper; *Legendary Poems*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, p. 405.

¹¹ *Legendary Poems*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, pp. 405–06.

¹² *Legendary Poems*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, pp. 418–19.

¹³ Breeze, 'Orosius', pp. 204–06.

given in Table 3 opposite, with the suggested interpretations of Haycock and Breeze. Where Haycock's suggestions are tentative or where she herself designates them as unlikely, I have preceded them with a question mark. I believe it is helpful to compare the solutions for the mysterious place-names in the poem, as suggested by Haycock and Breeze, to the variants shown in *Delw y byd*, since the latter might throw some light on the process of place-name corruption in Medieval Welsh, and have therefore included the possible equivalents from *Delw y byd*, where available.

What conclusions can be reached on the basis of these place-names? It appears that they are used to provide a geographical setting for the activity of Alexander, locating him firmly in the Orient. The readily identifiable place-names, even if we exclude Asia, all refer to the same region, as far as medieval geography is concerned. As can be seen from the table above, most of the identifiable place-names also feature on two consecutive pages in the RB-A and RB-B versions of *Delw y byd* (fols 244^v–245^r and 122^v–123^r). Whilst this is not to suggest that *Delw y byd*, or a similar text, could have been the origin of the place-names in 'Alexander I', the fact that those place-names which are immediately recognizable can be anchored to the same geographical area using the medieval geographical framework contemporary to the work's medieval audience (rather than locating them on a modern map), means that it is more likely that particular geographical associations would have been produced in the minds of that audience. Thus, while it does not appear to be possible, for the moment, to be certain about any of the identifications, for our purposes of determining the possible effect of this list on a twelfth- or thirteenth-century audience, or such an audience's understanding of it, it is not necessary to identify sources for all of the place-names.¹⁴ The interpretations of the twelfth- or thirteenth-century audiences of the text could have been widely different from the original intentions of its authors.¹⁵

¹⁴ For instance, as Breeze, points out, while *Agascia* probably originated from the Latin *Agesinem*, a medieval scribe clearly thought it meant Asia, because he added *mawr* to the word ('Orosius', p. 206).

¹⁵ Furthermore, having attempted to trace Haycock's and Breeze's suggested answers in *Delw y byd*, it appears that in that text many of the suggested place-names either did not undergo any change at all (for example, compare Breeze's suggestion of Hyrcania for *Kanna* in the Alexander poem with the instance of Hyrcania in *Delw y byd*), or were changed beyond recognition in a different direction, such as *Penelopensis* for the Peloponnese versus the *Pleth* of the Alexander poem, for example. The latter error in *Delw y byd* is easily explained through a mis-reading of an abbreviation, if the *n* was written as a suspension mark over the *l*.

Table 3: Place-names in the ‘Alexander I’ poem in the Book of Taliesin.

Place-Name	Suggested identification (H) ^a	Suggested identification (B) ^b	Possible <i>Delw y byd</i> equivalents
<i>Syr</i>	Syria (?), or ‘stars/planets’	Tirus	<i>Syros/Tyrus</i> ^c
<i>Syroel</i>	Syria (?)	a Cilicia	<i>Cilicia/Silisia</i> ^d
<i>Syria</i>	Syria	Syria	<i>Syrria/Syria</i> ^e
<i>Dinifdra</i>	land of the Donestre (?) or < <i>dinistyr</i> (‘destruction, ruin’) or < <i>din</i> (‘stronghold’)	Nysa	
<i>Dinitra</i>	(?) < <i>dinistyr</i> (‘destruction, ruin’) or < <i>din</i> (‘stronghold’)	Nicaea	
<i>Pers</i>	Persia		<i>Passidia/Persidia</i> ^f
<i>Mers</i>	made-up, or Mesopotamia (?)	Mardi	
<i>Kanna</i>	Cana in Galilee, or Canaan	Hyrkania	<i>Cananea/Cananya</i> ^g <i>Hyrkania/Hircany</i> ^h
<i>Pleth</i>	<i>ymysed bleth</i> (‘archipelago’) (?) or Peloponnese, Philippi, Philippopolis, Persepolis	Islands of the Persians	<i>Penelopensis</i> ⁱ
<i>Pletheppa</i>	Peloponnese (?), Philippi, Philippopolis, Persepolis	Persepolis	<i>Penelopensis</i>
<i>Babilon</i>	Babylon		<i>Babilon</i> ^j
<i>Agascia mawr</i>	rect.: <i>Ac Ascia mawr</i> = Asia Major	Agessinem	<i>Asia</i> ^k
<i>Galldarus</i>	<i>gall</i> (‘foreign, strange’) (?) + Taurus (mountains), or Galdares, or Gandhara	Gangaridas	
<i>Europa</i>			<i>Europa/Evropa</i> ^l
<i>Mageidawn</i>	Macedon		<i>Macedonia/Cedonia</i> / <i>Migdoia</i> ^m

^a *Legendary Poems*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, pp. 418–19.
^b Breeze, ‘Orosius’, pp. 204–06.
^c *Delw y byd*, ed. by Lewis and Diverres, pp. 35, 90.
^d *Delw y byd*, ed. by Lewis and Diverres, pp. 39, 93.
^e *Delw y byd*, ed. by Lewis and Diverres, pp. 35, 90.
^f *Delw y byd*, ed. by Lewis and Diverres, pp. 39, 91, 93.
^g *Delw y byd*, ed. by Lewis and Diverres, pp. 35, 90.
^h *Delw y byd*, ed. by Lewis and Diverres, pp. 37, 92.
ⁱ *Delw y byd*, ed. by Lewis and Diverres, p. 41.
^j *Delw y byd*, ed. by Lewis and Diverres, pp. 35, 37, 80, 91, 92; also p. 33 as *Babel*.
^k *Delw y byd*, ed. by Lewis and Diverres, pp. 27, 39, 86;
whilst *Asia vawr* does not occur, *Asia uechan* does (p. 37).
^l *Delw y byd*, ed. by Lewis and Diverres, pp. 27, 45, 47, 86, 93, 98.
^m *Delw y byd*, ed. by Lewis and Diverres, pp. 37, 41, 93, 95.

Whilst it is likely that the identifiable place-names in this text function as an anchor for the audience's geographical imagination, the function of the unidentifiable place-names presents a more complex problem. In the first place, we are faced with the question of whether these were as unidentifiable to the medieval audience as they are to modern scholars. If the answer to that question is negative, the approach taken by Haycock and Breeze comes into play, as we would need to identify potential geographical locations to which these place-names could have been referring. However, it seems probable that these place-names were as unidentifiable then as they are now, given the paucity of accurate geographical information available, the difference in the place-names featuring in either Orosius or *Delw y byd* from those in 'Alexander I', and the fact that such geographical knowledge as there was is unlikely to have been common enough to be possessed by the entirety of the poem's potential audience. If that is the case, the function of the apparently fictitious place-names appears to be two-fold. In the first place, as Haycock has observed in relation to *Syr* and *Syrriol*, they appear to be troping a known place-name.¹⁶ It also seems likely that much of the nature of some of the place-names can be accounted for by rhyme considerations. Some (*Syria*, *Dinitra*, *Kanna*, *Pletheppa*, and *Agascia*) are at the end of the lines, and their endings have to conform to the rhyme scheme. This may account for Canaan losing the final *-n* in *Kanna* (if this is, indeed, the original of that place-name). It is also interesting that of the place-names in this end position in the lines, at least one, *Syria*, is straightforwardly identifiable. If *Kanna* is Canaan and *Agascia* is Asia, this would mean that every second rhyming place-name was identifiable. This in turn supports the theory that the identifiable names were strategically positioned within the poem to function as anchors or guides to the audience's geographical imagination.

'Alexander I' falls into three parts, not only in terms of the content, but also in metrical terms.¹⁷ The first part is a general description of Alexander, characterized through his travels, his reign over 'twelve foreign realms', his three victories over Darius, and ends with a reference to his being the first who had gathered the wealth of the entire world.¹⁸ This part is characterized by nine-syllable lines and varying rhyme schemes: *-t* in ll. 1–7, *-er* in ll. 8–9, *-u* in ll. 10–11, and *-awt/-awd* in ll. 12–13.¹⁹ The second part of the poem is the list of countries

¹⁶ *Legendary Poems*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, p. 418.

¹⁷ This raises the possibility that it may be a conflation of three short independent poems.

¹⁸ *Legendary Poems*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, p. 412, ll. 1–13.

¹⁹ The syllable count varies slightly, including some eight-syllable lines and some ten-

conquered by Alexander, including the land of what appear to be Amazons. Metrically, this section hardly differs from the previous, except that the lines are predominantly ten syllables in length (there are, however, nine-syllable lines also), and the rhyme is invariably in *-a*. This part ends with reference to the Amazons, and the third part (ll. 27–41) switches to the subject of battles with Porus. It is entirely negative in tone. Not only does it begin with reference to *brithbret* ('disaster') (l. 28) but it also seems to be alluding to something reminiscent of a conquest of the Holy Land with 'neu wlat y'th weissan Ti pan diffydet' ('that it was a land for Thy servants which was rendered faithless').²⁰ The echo is sufficiently strong to suggest that even though the subject here is the historical Orient, the audience is reminded of the contemporary Orient, as it appears to be for some of the texts already discussed. The difference in focus between the various sections is accompanied by a difference in rhyme-scheme. This section has a rhyme in *-et*. The syllable count varies between nine and ten syllables per line, with two eight-syllable lines.

This brief overview has shown that the section listing Alexander's conquests stands out as a unit from the rest of the poem. Its function seems to be to establish the extent of Alexander's power. Unlike the following section it contains no criticism of either Alexander or his soldiers. Although there is reference to violence done to what appear from the description to be Amazons, there is seemingly no negativity implied, since the Amazons are characterized as *gor-dynt* ('proud'), and *gwyled gwastra* ('lacking modesty').²¹ The list of conquests, whether it is ultimately derived from Orosius or not, appears to play the function of establishing the grandeur of Alexander's figure as a conqueror. While the identifiable place-names serve to anchor his activities to a single region (the reference to the Amazons' European hostages in l. 23 also functions in that way), those place-names which are not readily identifiable appear to add an

syllable lines, but a vast majority of the lines are nine syllables long; it is likely that, as Haycock has indicated, line 12 is missing a word.

²⁰ *Legendary Poems*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, p. 413, l. 30; the capitalization is in the edition. Haycock interprets *diffyddiauw* as becoming faithless in terms of breaking an oath; *Legendary Poems*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, p. 421. However, it seems much more likely that in this context it is used in the sense of religious faith. For example, *ffydlonyn* in *Cronicl Turpin* is used to refer to the Christians, while Christianity is referred to as *fyd Gristonogawl*; see *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, pp. 101, 113.

²¹ *Legendary Poems*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, p. 413, l. 26; *Delw y byd* refers to the 'gwraged Amazonas ymladant mal gwyr' ('Amazon women who fight like men') (ed. by Lewis and Diverres, p. 37), my translation.

aura of mystery and distance to the established geographical scope of the poem. The motivation lying behind the creation of the list therefore appears to be:

- (a) following other texts of the Alexander tradition,
- (b) establishing a geographical area/stage for Alexander's activities,
- (c) placing Alexander in a distant, Oriental context, with historical connotations.

The fact that the list follows the Alexander tradition implies that it was known in Wales at the time the poem was composed (or at any rate when it was being transmitted). At the earliest, this could be the ninth century, and at the latest, according to Haycock, the eleventh.²² If this supposition is correct, they pre-date another similar list surviving this time in a medieval Welsh prose tale, *Culhwch*, and may, indeed, represent a way of thinking that informed the creation of that list.

Since the dates of both the Alexander poems and *Culhwch* are debatable, it is worthwhile focusing on the potential impact of both works on a later audience and on the implications of one of the works informing an audience's reading of the other. *Culhwch*, found only in the WB and RB, has for a long time been considered to be the earliest Arthurian narrative, and one of the earliest medieval Welsh prose narratives. Its story is of Arthur and his war-band aiding a young man, Culhwch, a kinsman of Arthur, to acquire Olwen, the giant's daughter, as his wife, by fulfilling a sequence of impossible tasks set by the giant Ysbaddaden. The current consensus is that the text's present form dates to c. 1100, although suggestions have been made that place its composition at a later date.²³ The work contains several lists, including a list of place-names, a list of characters, and a list of tasks.²⁴ Of these, two may have been expanded in the course of transmission.²⁵ The more well-discussed lists are the list of names

²² Haycock, 'Some Talk of Alexander and Some of Hercules', p. 17.

²³ I. Ll. Foster, 'Culhwch and Olwen and Rhonabwy's Dream', p. 32 and 'Astudiaeth o Chwedl Culhwch ac Olwen', pp. 248–305; Putter, 'Twelfth-Century Arthur', p. 38; Roberts, 'Culhwch ac Olwen, the Triads, Saints' Lives', p. 73. See Rodway, 'The Date and Authorship of *Culhwch ac Olwen*' for an alternative dating suggestion, but also T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'The Date of *Culhwch ac Olwen*'.

²⁴ See *Culhwch ac Olwen*, ed. by Bromwich and Evans, pp. 5, 7–13, 21–28; *The Mabinogion*, trans. by Davies, pp. 182, 184–89, 195–200.

²⁵ Edel, 'The Catalogues in *Culhwch ac Olwen*', but also Dehghani, 'The *Anoethu* Dialogue', pp. 297–300, 305.

of the members of Arthur's court, called upon to witness an oath, and the list of *anoethau*, the impossible tasks assigned by Ysbaddaden to Culhwch when the latter asks for the hand of Olwen.²⁶ The list that interests us occurs near the beginning of the tale, when Culhwch attempts to gain admittance to Arthur's court. When addressing Arthur to tell him of the visitor, the porter, Glwelwyd Gafaelfawr, begins by listing all the places where he himself had campaigned with Arthur. This list is similar to that in 'Alexander I' in that it includes both easily identifiable and unrecognizable, possibly fictional, place-names, many of them with Oriental connotations. Unlike the list in 'Alexander I' this list specifically does not refer to conquest, merely to having travelled or fought in those parts.²⁷

Mi a uum gynt yGhaer Se ac Asse, yn Sach a Salach, yn Lotor a Fotor. Mi a uum gynt yn yr India Uawr a'r India Uechan. Mi a uum gynt yn ymlad deu Ynyr pan ducpwyd y deudec gwystyl o Lychlyn. A mi a uum gynt yn yr Egrop, a mi a uum yn yr Affric, ac yn ynysoed Corsica, ac yGhaer Brythwch a Brythach a Nerthach. Mi a uum gynt pan ledeist ti teulu Gleis mab Merin, pan ledeist Mil Du mab Ducum. Mi a uum gynt pan wereskynneist Groec vrth parth y dwyrein. Mi a uum gynt yGhaer Oeth ac Anoeth, ac yGhaer Neuenhyr Naw Nawt: teyrndynyon tec a wel-sam ni yno...²⁸

I was of old in Caer Se and Asse, in Sach and Salach, in Lotor and Ffotor. I was of old in India the Great and India the Lesser. I was of old in the contest between the two Ynyrs, when the twelve hostages were brought from Llychlyn. And of old I was in Egrop, and in Africa was I, and in the islands of Corsica, and in Caer Brythwch and Brythach, and Nerthach. I was there of old when thou didst slay the war-band of Gleis son of Merin, when thou didst slay Mil the Black, son of Dugum; I was there of old when thou didst conquer Greece unto the east. I was of old in Caer Oeth and Anoeth, and in Caer Nefenhyr Nine-teeth. Fair kingly men saw we there.²⁹

²⁶ For discussions, see Roberts, 'Culhwch ac Olwen, the Triads, Saints' Lives', pp. 76, 88–89; Koch, 'Celtic Lands', p. 256; Edel, 'The Catalogues in *Culhwch ac Olwen*'; Sims-Williams, 'The Significance of the Irish Personal Names'.

²⁷ *Culhwch ac Olwen*, ed. by Bromwich and Evans, p. 5 (also briefly mentioned on p. xxviii); Sims-Williams, 'The Significance of the Irish Personal Names', pp. 601–02; note that although Edel's article 'The Catalogues in *Culhwch ac Olwen*' addresses the issue of lists in *Culhwch*, it does not mention Glwelwyd's list of place-names.

²⁸ *Culhwch ac Olwen*, ed. by Bromwich and Evans, p. 5.

²⁹ *Mabinogion*, trans. by Jones and Jones, p. 83; I have chosen to reproduce this translation here, rather than that of Davies, since she lays the text out as verse, see her *Mabinogion*, p. 182 and p. 261 n.

The primary function of this passage is that of a reminder to Arthur of Glewlwy't's long-term service with him. The scholarly consensus is that at least one of the list's functions in the narrative is to establish the epic status of Arthur's figure.³⁰ It is also a reminder to the audience of the geographical scope of Arthur's imperial power, as well as an indication of the importance of Culhwch, who is being received by this powerful ruler. I propose to take this argument further, and show that a comparison can be made between the conquests of Arthur listed by Glwelwyt and not only the Arthur of the *Historia regum* and *Brut y Brenhinedd*, but also with other imperial figures known to the Welsh. I propose that the proper context for the list of place-names in this text involving Oriental locations partly lies in an implied comparison of Arthur with foreign legendary figures such as Alexander and Charlemagne (an echo of a *translatio* sequence), and that the list was composed at a time when Wales was coming into increased contact with the Eastern world. Europe no longer seemed to be the whole world, and the Orient became a much closer entity with the advent of the crusades. It would make sense in this context for Arthur to need a track record of international and preferably exotic conquests if he was to compete with other legendary heroes and conquerors who invaded Welsh literature in this period. It is particularly the implication of imperial power that makes this list of countries reminiscent of that in 'Alexander I'. The campaigning claims presented here are of truly epic proportions. According to Glewlwy't, he had campaigned with Arthur in almost every part of the world as it was then known.

The evolution of Arthur as an imperial figure on the lines of Alexander and Charlemagne appears to be part of a trend of Arthur's development as traced by Oliver Padel. Arthur, Padel writes, grew in stature throughout the Middle Ages, attracting more and more legends and miracles, emerging ultimately as the hero-figure of Britain and the British people (so much so, in fact, that in the mid-twelfth century the French knew of a fail-safe way of provoking a Breton — to deny Arthur's return).³¹ Scholars who had made a study of *Culhwch*, Bromwich and Evans, Sims-Williams, Roberts, and others, have all leaned towards the conclusion that the work belongs to a wider medieval tradition, which included the *Historia regum*. Yet a further step remains to be taken in looking at *Culhwch* within that context. As is shown by the evidence of *Brut y Tywysogion*, around the time of the composition of *Culhwch* (if it was

³⁰ Sims-Williams, 'The Significance of the Irish Personal Names', p. 601; *Culhwch ac Olwen*, ed. by Bromwich and Evans, p. xxviii.

³¹ Padel, 'The Nature of Arthur', pp. 8–10

composed in the early twelfth century, and certainly if it was composed later), Welshmen travelled as far as Norway, Corsica, and certainly as far as 'Europe' and Greece.³² Consequently, imagining Arthur's activities stretching that far would require no great leap of the imagination, and for him to become a hero of the magnitude of Alexander, Hercules, Caesar, or Charlemagne (and for the Brittonic-speaking peoples of the period he was becoming precisely that) it was necessary to spread his sphere of activity as far as possible. He is rival and/or heir of the other rulers, according to the historico-political narrative of the *translatio*. As can be seen from the lists in Gerald's *De principis instructione*, the presence of the Alexander, Hercules, and Charlemagne material in Welsh, and the political ambitions of works such as *Breudwyd Maxen* and Geoffrey's *Historia regum*, as well as the Triads, Arthur was seen as the insular hero to be added to the list of world-heroes, the culmination of the westward march of the *imperium*, and thus had a reputation to 'live up to' in literature.³³ He had to go farther than anyone else, and conquer a greater spread of land than anyone had visited, in order to outshine his Continental counterparts and rivals.

When looking at the list itself, immediately noticeable is the fact that it does not appear to have a consistent structure. In placing Europe next to Africa, it evokes the medieval geographical triad of Asia, Africa, and Europe, but does not follow it through. Similarly, only two out of the three medieval Indias are mentioned in the list. Furthermore, island names seem to have disappeared after *Corsica*, as the text seems to refer to it in the plural. It may be possible to argue that the text is intended to read 'islands of Corsica', implying that several islands make up a single unit carrying the name, but evidence from other textual sources suggests otherwise. The RB-A version of *Delw y byd*, for instance, has the singular *ynys corsea* for Corsica.³⁴ Since Corsica is (and was known as) a single island, even in *Delw y byd*, and since the other place-names appear in pairs at least, it is possible that the *ynyssoed* introduced a doublet of which the second item has been lost.³⁵ As it is, not only does Corsica stand out because the identification as 'islands' is wrong (although that can be ascribed to authorial or scribal ignorance), but also because it is on its own in the sequence *Se + Asse, Sach + Salach, Lotor + Fotor, India mawr + India vechan, 2 Ynyrs, 12 hos-*

³² Carr, 'Inside the Tent', p. 33; see the discussion of *Brut y Tywysogion* in Chapter 2 above.

³³ Sims-Williams, 'Some Functions of Origin Stories'; Padel, 'The Nature of Arthur'; *TYP*².

³⁴ RB, fol. 246^v, col. 990, l. 4.

³⁵ RB, fol. 246^v, col. 990, l. 4 (the reading there is *Corsea*).

tages of Norway (Norway is one, but the hostages are twice 6), *Europe + Africa, Caer Brythwch + Brythach + Nerthach*.³⁶

It is possible, but undesirable, to argue for the compiler's ignorance of medieval geographical traditions. The fact is that very real and recognizable place-names appear to be strategically positioned at some distance from each other within the list. The question, as with 'Alexander I', is what the medieval audience of the tale would have made of this list, and in particular of the place-names not immediately identifiable by modern scholarship. To start with, it is necessary to put the geographical knowledge shown in *Culhwch* in its proper context. Table 4, opposite, shows the place-names in the list alongside the identifications proposed by modern scholars, with an additional column on the right showing which of the identifiable place-names also occur in *Delw y byd*.

Of the place-names listed, there are some that are 'real' in the sense of being identifiable within the modern and/or the medieval geographical tradition, as there have been in 'Alexander I'. In the case of the *Culhwch* list, these are: *India Uawr* ('India the Great') and *India Uechan* ('India the Lesser'), *Lychlyn* ('Norway'), *Egrop* ('Europe'), *Affric* ('Africa'), *Corsica* ('Corsica'), and *Groec* ('Greece'). *Egrop* has been identified by Brynley Roberts as Europe, suggesting that this particular form originated from the sequence of scribal error: *Europa* > *Eōrop* > *EGrop*.³⁷ *India Fawr* and *India Fechan* are, as Roberts points out, place-names belonging to the tradition of multiple Indias.³⁸ The place-names not immediately identifiable are: *Caer Se*, *Caer Asse*, *Sach*, *Salach*, *Lotor*, *Fotor*, *Caer Brythach*, *Caer Nerthach*, *Caer Oeth*, *Caer Anoeth*, *Caer Neuenhyr* (*Naw Nawt*).

The first six were recently discussed alongside the 'Alexander I' place-names by Andrew Breeze, who argues for their derivation from Orosius and identification with real locations.³⁹ However, it is unclear why the author of *Culhwch* would resort to Orosius or why he would chose these particular place-names rather than any others. Furthermore, as with some instances in 'Alexander I', it is also unclear why the mangling of place-names would have been so drastically

³⁶ *Ynyr* also occurs in 'Hirlas Owain', l. 64; see 'Canu Owain Cyfeiliad', ed. by G. A. Williams, in *Gwaith Llywelyn Fardd*, ed. by Bramley and others, p. 227 and p. 244 n. 64.

³⁷ Roberts, 'Yr India Fawr', p. 282.

³⁸ In Welsh language texts, the topos of the Three Indias also occurs, in the *Ystoria Gwlat Ieuan Vendigeit*, for instance; Roberts, 'Yr India Fawr', p. 283; see also edition by Edwards, p. lxiii.

³⁹ Breeze, 'Orosius', pp. 207–09; for a discussion of these identifications, see Petrovskaia, 'Medieval Welsh Perceptions of the Orient'.

Table 4: Place-names in Culhwch.

Place-Name	Suggested identifications	Possible <i>Delw y byd</i> equivalents
<i>Caer Se</i>	Caer Syracuse ^a	
<i>Caer Asse</i>	Caer Syracuse ^b	
<i>Sach</i>	Arachosia ^c	
<i>Salach</i>	Arachosia ^d	
<i>Lotor</i>	Otorogora ^e	
<i>Fotor</i>	Otorogora ^f	
<i>India Uawr</i>	India Maior ^g	India ^h
<i>India Uechan</i>	India Minor ⁱ	India
<i>Ynyr</i>		
<i>Lychlyn</i>	Norway ^j	<i>Lychlyn</i> = Norway ^k
<i>Egrop</i>	Europe ^l	Europa/Evroppa ^m
<i>Affric</i>	Africa	<i>Affric/Affrica/Affrika</i> = Africa ⁿ
<i>Corsica</i>	Corsica ^o	Corsica/ <i>Corsea</i> = Corsica ^p
<i>Caer Brythwch</i>		
<i>Caer Brytach/Brytach</i>		
<i>Caer Nerthach</i>		
<i>Groec</i>	Greece ^q	<i>Graecia/Groec Vawr/Groec Vechan</i> = Greece ^r
<i>Caer Oeth</i>		
<i>Caer Anoeth</i>	< <i>anoeth</i> = wonder; something difficult to get ^s	
<i>Caer Neuenhyr Naw</i>		
<i>Nawt/Naw Nawd</i>		

^a Breeze, ‘Orosius’, pp. 207–08.

^b Breeze, ‘Orosius’, pp. 207–08.

^c Breeze, ‘Orosius’, pp. 207–08.

^d Breeze, ‘Orosius’, pp. 207–08.

^e Breeze, ‘Orosius’, pp. 207–08.

^f Breeze, ‘Orosius’, pp. 207–08.

^g Roberts, ‘Yr India Fawr’, p. 283.

^h Without *maior/minor* distinction: *Delw y byd*, ed. by Lewis and Diverres, pp. 27, 29, 33, 59, 86, 89, 101; as *Yndea*, p. 105.

ⁱ Roberts, ‘Yr India Fawr’, p. 283.

^j Roberts, ‘Yr India Fawr’, p. 282; *Culhwch ac Olwen*, ed. by Bromwich and Evans, p. 59.

^k As translation for Lat. *Norwegia* in *Delw y byd*, ed. by Lewis and Diverres, p. 41; cf. Irish *Lochlann*; *Delw y byd*, ed. by Lewis and Diverres, p. 23 n. 25.2.

^l *Culhwch ac Olwen*, ed. by Bromwich and Evans, p. 59; Roberts, ‘Yr India Fawr’, p. 282.

^m *Delw y byd*, ed. by Lewis and Diverres, pp. 27, 45, 47, 86, 93, 98.

ⁿ *Delw y byd*, ed. by Lewis and Diverres, pp. 27, 45, 86, 96, 97, 113.

^o Roberts, ‘Yr India Fawr’, p. 282.

^p *Delw y byd*, ed. by Lewis and Diverres, pp. 49, 98 and, as mis-translation, p. 93, p. 123 n. 22.3.

^q Roberts, ‘Yr India Fawr’, p. 282.

^r *Delw y byd*, ed. by Lewis and Diverres, pp. 41, 43, 92, 95, 97.

^s Mac Cana, ‘C. anoeth: Gw. Deccair’, pp. 28–29; cf. also Koch, ‘Celtic Lands’, p. 266–67.

different in *Culhwch* compared to *Delw y byd*, for instance. While it could be argued that the changes in place-names introduced by individual scribes would be unique, we have other examples of mangled place-names which undergo similar and traceable changes in several different texts: such as the case of *Alifatima* discussed above.⁴⁰ The most important question in this case, as in that of 'Alexander I', is what the associations invoked by these names would have been in the Middle Ages. The various conflicting attempts on the part of modern scholarship to anchor the place-names of *Culhwch* to known geographical locations serve to highlight the fact that *Culhwch*'s medieval audiences probably had no hope of identifying the places in question. For the purposes of the tale, however, they had no need to do so, and it appears that the easily recognizable geographical references strategically inserted at fairly even intervals in the list functioned as its anchor in the geographical imagination of the audience. Indeed, the impossibility of identifying some of these places would have meant that the world of Arthur expanded beyond the world known to the audience. This does not necessarily mean that the implication was a conquest of the 'Otherworld', but merely that Arthur's conquests ranged further and wider than those of contemporary monarchs. It thus appears, ultimately, that the list of place-names in *Culhwch* carries a wealth of information and a weighty function — to establish the grandeur of Arthur in the eyes of the audience.⁴¹ That a list of some standard exotic place-names was apparently deemed insufficient for this purpose implies that the audience was worldly-wise enough not to be impressed by such a list, requiring additions of arcane geographical learning. These additions are likely to have been induced by the desire to depict Arthur as an imperial figure to rival Alexander, and perhaps also Charlemagne, who was familiar in Wales at least after the early thirteenth century. Any argument based on the differences between the lists in 'Alexander I', *Culhwch* and the Charlemagne material should be treated with care, but it seems reasonable to suggest that the increased need in *Culhwch* to include obscure place-names

⁴⁰ Another instance is that of Constantinople, see discussion in Petrovskaja, 'Dating *Peredur*', pp. 231–38.

⁴¹ A similar point regarding the role of this list in establishing Arthur's imperial claims is made by Roberts in the context of his discussion of the *Historia regum*; Roberts, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae* and *Brut y Brenhinedd*', p. 107. For an argument for reading *Culhwch* as a text underlining the greatness of Arthur's rule, see Over, *Kingship, Conquest and Patria*, pp. 30–34. There is an argument that the exaggerative aspects of the tale which have tended to be seen as parodic or ironic could also be argued to be hyperbole intended to increase enjoyment without diminishing the heroism of the tale.

from the Orient may arise from the presence of an audience whose geographical knowledge had increased.

It was Sir Edward Anwyl who first suggested that the *Culhwch* list of countries represented an echo of the Alexander legends.⁴² While it is possible that the poems pre-date the prose tale, this is not certain. The importation of the Charlemagne legend into Wales in the form of the Charlemagne Cycle most probably post-dates both. Consequently, while it is dangerous to argue that the representation of Arthur as conqueror in *Culhwch* is necessarily dependent on the knowledge of the legends of Alexander and Charlemagne, it is likely that knowledge of these legends influenced the reception of this tale in later (late-twelfth- and early-thirteenth-century) audiences. The possibility of a comparison between Arthur's conquests in *Culhwch*, Alexander's in 'Alexander I', and Charlemagne's in *Cronicl Turpin* would not have been lost on a medieval Welsh audience and deserves more detailed attention. Kay Slocum, for example, writes that Geoffrey's portrayal of Arthur was reminiscent of the already established image of Charlemagne, and draws parallels between *Historia regum* and *Roland*.⁴³ The Charlemagne Cycle, which belongs to a later period, nevertheless occurs in some of the same manuscripts as the Welsh Arthurian material, the WB, the RB, and Peniarth 7. Moreover, it is reasonable to assume that the audience of the Charlemagne Cycle would have been familiar with the imperial figure of Arthur and vice versa. It is therefore appropriate to discuss the three sets of imperial claims alongside each other. Map 3 on the following page, represents the conquests of Arthur as they are described in *Historia regum* prior to Arthur's clash with Rome and those of Charlemagne as they stand in the texts of the Charlemagne Cycle.

The list of Charlemagne's conquests given at the beginning of the *Cronicl Turpin* is uniform in both original Latin and translated Welsh versions of the text.⁴⁴ The variation is limited to the designation of *Theutonia* as Germany (*Almaen*), and *Baioaria* (Bavaria) given as *Baicar*.⁴⁵ What makes this list inter-

⁴² *Culhwch ac Olwen*, ed. by Bromwich and Evans, p. 59; Anwyl, 'Notes', p. 413.

⁴³ Slocum, *Medieval Civilisation*, pp. 300–01. The possibility that Arthur in *Historia regum* might have been modelled on the figure of Charlemagne was raised and discussed by Gerould, Loomis, and Hoofnagle; see Hoofnagle, 'Altera Troia', pp. 58–60. An explicit comparison between Arthur and Alexander, made in *Erec*, ll. 6611–6623, is discussed in Over, *Kingship, Conquest and Patria*, pp. 101–02.

⁴⁴ *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 1; *Historia Karoli*, ed. by Meredith-Jones, pp. 88–89.

⁴⁵ The result of scribal confusion between *o* and *c*.



Map 3. Conquests of Arthur versus conquests of Charlemagne.

esting, however, is the absence of any Oriental references whatsoever despite the associated legend of Charlemagne's voyage to Jerusalem and Constantinople. Compared to the Orient-heavy list of Alexander's conquests in 'Alexander I', or the universal list of Arthur's campaigns in *Culhwch*, this is unexpectedly narrow in its exclusively European focus. Although intentionality can hardly be argued since the list was not altered in the translation, it is tempting to think that a comparison between the figures of Arthur, Alexander, and Charlemagne by a Welsh audience would be informed by the three lists. The claims of conquest or campaigning advanced in our texts on behalf of the three rulers are represented on Map 4. Note that the projection is, given the vagueness of the geographical reference in the lists, very approximate. Its purpose is to illustrate the rough areas of domination and the overlap between the three rulers. Alexander would be seen as dominating the Orient, but only the Orient. Charlemagne, in turn, would be seen as dominating the West, but since Wales and Ireland are not included in this West, the domination is incomplete. Meanwhile, the list of Arthur's conquests in *Culhwch* can almost be termed universal. It includes Europe and Norway, India, Greece, and Africa, as well as some unidentified places and countries. The implication of this is that if the legends of Charlemagne and Alexander were recalled at the reading of *Culhwch*, Arthur would be perceived as a greater warrior and emperor than either of the others.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ The significance of the figure of Charlemagne in Wales, and the recognition of his status is evidenced by comparisons made with him in praise of the princes; see Carr, 'Inside the Tent', p. 32.



Map 4. Conquests of Arthur, Charlemagne, and Alexander.

While his conquests and campaigns encompass both the Oriental realm of Alexander, and the Western realm of Charlemagne, he is also represented as campaigning in lands no-one had even been to. It is possible that Arthur's imperial claims were articulated in *Culhwch* in reaction to an awareness of Alexander's imperial stature. But more importantly, these conquests appear to have been compared to those of Charlemagne. Indeed, as can be seen from the discussion below, the process of adaptation of the Charlemagne legend into Welsh appears to display the signs of having been influenced by an awareness of rivalling Arthurian claims. Arthur is positioned at the culmination of the *translatio* process. Whilst not conqueror precisely, he is nevertheless depicted at least as extending his sphere of activity into the contemporary (or perhaps historical) Orient, Alexander's zone of influence, and into Charlemagne's Europe.

As far as the Welsh materials are concerned, the sources of information about Charlemagne's empire appear to be limited to the Cycle. These texts contain a number of place-name lists comparable to the Alexander and Arthur lists discussed in this chapter. The Latin version of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* associated with the British Isles names Charlemagne as 'imperator Gallorum,

Romanorum, et Theutonitorum ceterarumque gencium'.⁴⁷ This Insular version, therefore, appears to be identifying Charlemagne (correctly) as emperor of the French (Gaul), Romans (his empire being the Holy Roman Empire), and Germans. Neither the odd replacement of Romans with Normans of the A-version nor the more reasonable replacement of the Teutonic tribes with the label 'heretics' (although 'pagans' would have been more accurate in this case) which occur in other versions, appear to have made it to the Insular version.⁴⁸ The Welsh closely follows the Insular version with its designation of Charlemagne as 'amherawdyr Rufein a Ffreinc a Thiester a chenedloed ereill' ('Emperor of Romans and French and Teutons and other peoples').⁴⁹ The term *amherawdyr Rufein* here evokes the figure of Maxen and again brings Charlemagne into direct opposition or comparison with British legendary heroes.⁵⁰ Although this title in itself and the list of Charlemagne's realms discussed above do not have Oriental connotations, they are significant in the context of the rest of the sentence, which contains the list of his lands.

A gwedy y goreskyn o Charlymaen, o'e nerth a'e allu, pedryfannoed bydoed ac amryuaelon teyrnassoed, nyt amgen, Lloegyr, a Freinc, a'r Almaen, a Baicar, a Lotarins, a Bwrgwyn, a'r Eidal, a Brytaen, ac aneiryf teyrnassoed ereill, a dinassoed o'r mor py gilyd, ac o gedernit dwywawl eu gestwg, ac eu dwyn o law Sarascinyeit, ac eu darestwg y Gristonogawl bendeuigaeth, gwedy y vlinaw o wrthrwrm lauwr, yd aruaethwys gorfywys o hynny allan, ac nat elei ym brwytreu.⁵¹

When Charlemagne had, by his might and power, conquered the four quarters of the world and divers kingdoms, namely, England, France, Almaen, Baicar, Lotarius, Burgundy, Italy, Brittany, and countless other kingdoms and cities from sea to sea, and had, by Divine power, subdued them, delivered them from the hands of the Saracens, and brought them into subjection to the Christian rule, he, being weary through oppressive labour, resolved that he would henceforth rest and not go to battle.⁵²

⁴⁷ *Historia Karoli*, ed. by Meredith-Jones, p. 89 n. viii.

⁴⁸ For more on the various versions, see *Historia Karoli*, ed. by Meredith-Jones, pp. 1–32.

⁴⁹ *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 1, ll. 9–10; my translation. Thiester presumably refers to the Teutonic tribes. I follow Chance in rendering this as a list of peoples rather than countries despite the fact that *Rufein* normally refers to Rome, not Romans; see Chance, 'Imagining Empire', p. 189 n. 14. My reasoning is that, in the first place, the list is translating the Latin list of peoples, and, in the second place, similar lists of peoples ending in *a chenedloed ereill* can be found in other texts, including *Brut y Tywysogion* and *Delw y byd*.

⁵⁰ *Breudwyt Maxen*, ed. by Roberts.

⁵¹ *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 1.

⁵² Translation by R. Williams, 'The History of Charlemagne', p. 83.

This passage is effectively a parallel to the *Culhwch* passage, with the difference that whereas Arthur's conquests include a distant Orient external to Europe, Charlemagne's Orient is very much closer to home. The notion that Charlemagne had liberated these lands from the Saracens serves to establish the 'pagans' as an imminent threat. Furthermore, where Arthur is said to have campaigned in the Oriental lands, Charlemagne's claims, like those of Alexander, are those of conquest and subjugation. He is said to have acquired these lands with the power of his arms, and liberated them from the hands of the Saracens. Since the lands listed are European, even though there is a reference to *teyrmas-soed ereill*, the sense is still of a pan-European, rather than universal, hegemony.⁵³ This also places Saracens (who are not mentioned in *Culhwch*) within Europe and turns them into a greater, more immediate threat, a threat that Charlemagne then addresses throughout the narrative.⁵⁴

The suggestion that the conquest lists of Arthur and Charlemagne could have been read together, or at least compared, is reinforced by some of the changes undergone by Charlemagne's imperial claims in the process of their translation into Welsh. The most striking example is in *Roland*. In the original text, the list of Charlemagne's conquests includes Calabria, Apulia (as *Pouille*), and England. In *Cân Rolant* the list is changed to include Rome and Constantinople, and to exclude England.⁵⁵ Note, however, that the apparently exaggerated flourish that is the addition of Rome may be an issue of consistency, and a conscious echo of *Otuel*, which is the next work in the Cycle, as the latter explicitly states that Rome was Charlemagne's city.⁵⁶ The removal of England from the *Cân Rolant* list may be interpreted as a move to reconcile the Charlemagne legend with the Arthurian legend — England is where their interests would clash, and in the Welsh text, Charlemagne could not be allowed to conquer lands that by right belong to Arthur. The comparison of the two legendary figures by contemporary redactors, and indeed audiences, appears to be strongly implied by these changes. An apparent rivalry between the figures of

⁵³ The formula *ac aneirfyf teyrnassoed ereill* is reminiscent of the formulae used to refer to pagan peoples discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 above.

⁵⁴ The positioning of Saracens within Europe in this narrative evokes the figure of the Vikings, also occasionally called Saracens in medieval texts. However, in the light of Charlemagne's legendary Spanish campaigns such an association is in this instance unlikely.

⁵⁵ *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. by Dufournet, pp. 88–89; *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejhon, pp. 136–37.

⁵⁶ *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 46 ('The History of Charlemagne', trans. by R. Williams, p. 120); *Otinell*, ed. by Guessard and Michelant, p. 4.

Arthur and Charlemagne is also hinted at by the existence of a tradition ascribing to Arthur a series of conquests and campaigns against pagans. As we have seen, there is at least one independent representation of Arthur as ‘crusader’, in the *Leges Eduardi Confessoris*.⁵⁷ In addition to these claims, this text, like *Culhwch*, ascribes to Arthur the conquest of far-reaching lands:

[...] non fuit contentus animus eius regno Britannie excessitque metas et fines regni huius, et subiugavit sibi uiriliter et strenue Scanciam totam, que modo Norweya uocatur, et omnes insulas ultra Scanciam, scilicet Islandiam et Grenelandiam, que sunt de appendiciis Norweye, et Suetheidam et Hiberniam et Gutlandiam et Daciam et Semelandiam et Wynelandiam et Curlandiam et Roe et Fenielandiam et Wirlandiam et Estlandiam et Cherrelam et Lappam et omnes alias terras et insulas orientales oceani usque Russiam — in Lappam scilicet posuit orientalem metam regni Britannie — et multas alias insulas ultra Scanciam, usquedum sub septemtrione, que sunt de appendiciis Scanciae, que modo Norweia uocatur.⁵⁸

His spirit was not content with the kingdom of Britain and exceeded the limits and boundaries of his kingdom, and manfully and strenuously subjugated to himself the whole of Scancia [= Scandinavia], which is also called Norway, and all the islands beyond Scancia, that is Island and Greenland, which are Norwegian adjuncts, and Sweden and Ireland, and Gutland, and Dacia [= Denmark], and Semelandia [= Sápmi/Lapland], and Wynelandia [= Vinland], and Curlandia [= Courland], and Roe [= Faroe Islands], and Finland, and Wirland [= ON *Virland*, part of Estonia], and Estland, and Cherrela [= Karelia], and Lappa [= Lapland], and all the other Eastern lands and islands up to Russia (he certainly placed the easternmost limit of the British kingdom in Lappa) and many other islands beyond Scancia, as far as the under the Big Dipper, which are adjuncts of Scancia, which is also called Norway. (my translation)

It is worth noting that in this case the list is of countries conquered by Arthur rather than those he campaigned in, as in *Culhwch*. It is also exclusively North-Western, coinciding with the sphere of influence outlined for Charlemagne. Since this text is not Welsh, it is uncertain how much this tradition would have been represented in Wales or known to the audiences of *Culhwch*. It, however, provides another example of Arthurian imperial claims and geographically wide scope of campaigning. It is even more striking that the range of Arthur’s campaigns outlined in *Leges Eduardi* matches his conquests in *Historia regum*

⁵⁷ Above, Chapter 1.

⁵⁸ *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Lieberman, I, 659.

IX, which furnish him with allies for his conflict with Rome.⁵⁹ The only difference between the two accounts of a North-Western Arthurian empire is that Geoffrey adds regions in France to Arthur's conquests. It could be argued that this addition is dictated by narrative needs, since it is precisely those conquests which prompt conflict with Rome. Since little is known of *Leges Eduardi* beyond the date of composition in the 1130s, thus making it contemporary to *Historia regum*, it is impossible at present to say whether the two texts are independent witnesses of the same tradition, or if one is influenced by the other. However, together with *Culhwch*, they suggest that the figure of Arthur was associated with conquests far beyond Britain, and possibly a North-Western empire. Whilst the impossibility of dating the list in *Culhwch* makes any conclusions tentative, the contemporaneity of *Historia regum* and *Leges Eduardi* with the date of composition of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* makes it worth at least suggesting that the imperial figures of Arthur and Charlemagne may have been developing, in the twelfth century, under the influence of similar cultural contexts and political discourses. (For a territorial comparison of the conquests of Arthur and Charlemagne, see Map 1).

The similarity between the situation in a fictional imagined Britain (albeit not Arthur's Britain) and fictional imagined France, threatened by Saracens in the Charlemagne texts, is also visible in the Book of Taliesin poem 'Ymarwar Llund bychan'.⁶⁰ The poem concerns a threat to Britain, and in its identification of the threat as Arabic in origin, and the context as the story of Llund and Llefelys, it suggests that the *Coranieit* of the tale *Cyfranc Llund a Llefelys* may be a reference to Saracens, and the word itself could be derived from Qur'an.⁶¹

En enw Duw Trindawt, kardawt kyfrwys,
llwyth lliaws, anuaws eu henwerys,
dygorescynnan Prydein, prif van ynys:

⁵⁹ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, ed. by Reeve and trans. by Wright, pp. 220–21.

⁶⁰ *Prophecies from the Book of Taliesin*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, 176–85.

⁶¹ *Prophecies from the Book of Taliesin*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, pp. 176–77 for a discussion of the poem; for a discussion of *Coranieit*, see *TYP*², p. 86, where Rachel Bromwich suggests that the word was confused with *Cesaryeit*, and the invasion referred to is that of the Romans; see also *The Mabinogion*, trans. by Davies, p. 252 n. 112. *Cyfranc Llund a Llefelys* has been edited by Roberts, and deals with three *gormesoedd* ('oppressions') of the Island of Britain, which are confronted by Llund with the advice of his brother, Llefelys. For a translation see *The Mabinogion*, trans. by Davies, pp. 111–15; for discussions Sims-Williams, 'Some Functions of Origin Stories', pp. 105–06 and 111–16; and Randell, 'And There Was a Fourth Son'.

gwyr gwlat yr Ascia a gwlat Gafis,
 pobyl pwyllat enwir eu tir ny wys.
 Famen gowyreis herwyr maris
 amlaes eu peisseu, pwy eu heuelis,
 a phwyllat difuner, ober efnis?
 Europin, Arafin, Arafnis.
 Cristyawn⁶² difryt diryd dilis
 kyn ymarwar Llund a Llefelis.
 Dysgogettawr perchen y Wen Ynys
 rac pennaeth of Rufein, kein y echrys.
 Nyt rys, nyt kyfrwys ri rwyf y areith
 a rywelei a ryweleis o aghyfyeth
 Dullator petrygwern llugyrn ymdeith,
 rac ryuonic kynran baran godeith.
 Ry talaf Mab grat, rwyf y areith.
 Kymry yn dahnyal, ryfel ar geith,
 Pryderaf, pwyllaf pwy y hymdeith,
 Brythonic yn Iwis dydyrchefis.⁶³

In the name of God the Trinity, of wise charity,
 a myriad host of cruel violence,
 shall conquer Britain, the pre-eminent island:
 the men of the land of Asia and the land of Cafis/Gafis,
 a people of evil intent whose land is not known.
 A race with inclined lances, sea-raiders,
 their tunics trailing, what others are like them,
 with a vain intent, a hostile action?
 Europeans, Arabians, Saracens,
 Christ (was) a true salvation to the bound and reviled
 before the conversation of Llund and Llefelys.
 The ruler/owner of Albion shall be stirred/moved
 in the face of a lord from Rome, fair (to behold) the terror he provokes.
 It is not..., not a skillful king of great speech
 who'd see what I saw of the foreigners.
 There will be arranged a veritable swamp, a path (needing) lanterns,
 in the face of a stout warrior with the roar of great conflagration.
 May I merit the dear Son, of ready utterance.
 The Cymry gnashing their teeth (and) war on bondmen,

⁶² I retain the manuscript reading here over the edition. The manuscript reads *cristyawn*, which Haycock amends to *Crist yawn*: 'Crist (was) a true salvation to the bound and reviled'; brackets are Haycock's.

⁶³ *Prophecies from the Book of Taliesin*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, p. 178.

I worry, I wonder what their course will be,
the Brython-like ones who triumphed in Wessex.⁶⁴

The manuscript reading of *Cristyawn* 'Christians', emended by Haycock to *Crist yawn* 'Christ (was) a true (salvation)' may well be an error prompted by the scribe thinking in crusade terms: Christians against Saracens.⁶⁵ As Haycock notes, the description provided in the poem, of a sea-faring people with lances and tunics, is hardly reminiscent of Vikings, who have long been a common candidate for identification as Northern and Western 'Saracens'.⁶⁶ Indeed, in the light of other references to what appears to be a Saracen or Eastern contact with Britain, including references to Africans, it seems a stretch to argue for identification of these foreigners with Scandinavians against the explicit references to *yr Ascia* ('Asia'), *Arafin* ('Arabians'), and *Arafanis* (translated by Haycock as 'Saracens' but perhaps a doublet for 'Arabians').⁶⁷ Another Book of Taliesin poem, 'Kadeir Teŷrnon', has a description of sea-farers *o blant Saraphin*, which Haycock suggests may been a reference to Saracens (a mis-reading of *Sarafin* written with a long *s* as *Saraphin*).⁶⁸ References to attacks on or visits to British lands from Asia and Africa are also present in Geoffrey's *Historia regum*. In XI.186 Geoffrey promises to translate another work, dedicated to the subject of the exile of British clergy in Brittany in the wake of the coming of the African king Gormund.⁶⁹ This notion of a fictional African invasion into Brittany seems to echo, in the same way as in the Charlemagne material, contemporary concerns of invasion and crusade. A further reference to arrivals from distant lands, this time Africa, in Geoffrey's *Historia regum*, is in the context of the history of Stonehenge, already referred to, and also told by

⁶⁴ *Prophecies from the Book of Taliesin*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, p. 179.

⁶⁵ For instances of the dichotomy, see the discussion of *Brut y Tywysogion* in Chapter 2 above. If we do not accept the emendation, rather than Christ being present at the conversation of Lludd and Llefelys, 'Christians, salvation to the bound and reviled' would be in attendance; Haycock silently emends in her discussion p. 176.

⁶⁶ *Prophecies from the Book of Taliesin*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, p. 176; for the suggestion that the poem here refers to Vikings, see Griffiths, *Early Vatinisation in Welsh*, p. 127.

⁶⁷ For thematic doublets and repetition in place-name lists, see above, pp. 139–142 and 147–149.

⁶⁸ *Legendary Poems*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, pp. 298 for text and 310 for discussion.

⁶⁹ Tatlock, 'Certain Contemporaneous Matters', p. 206. Note also the reference to the Africans and Arabs fearing a future British king as far as the depths of Spain; Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, VI. 115, ed. by Reeve and trans. by Wright, pp. 148–49, discussed above.

Gerald, claiming that the stones were originally brought to Kildare from Africa by giants.⁷⁰ Whilst it is probable that Geoffrey was Gerald's source it is unclear what the origin of the legend may have been.⁷¹ Yet the tantalizing reference indicates that hints, such as our poem, of legends of African or Arabic visitors or invaders should not necessarily be interpreted as terminological transferal and reference to the Vikings. The difficulty of reading these as references to Norsemen is that there is otherwise no evidence that the transferal of terminology of *Saracen* via *pagan* to signify Danes or Norwegians could extend so far as using geographical references (e.g. Asia, Arabia) to mean the Northern countries. Thus while there is insufficient evidence to reconstruct legends imagining Saracen invasions of Britain on the Charlemagne model, and while all of the sources produced here can (albeit sometimes at quite a stretch) be read as references to Vikings, the cumulative evidence points to a straightforward reading of the references as to the contemporary Orient. As Haycock acknowledges, it is entirely possible that the reference could be updated and 'exoticised' to make reference to crusades.⁷²

Returning to the subject of Arabic origins of the invaders in the story of *Llud and Llefelys*, it must be noted that their origins are not mentioned in the Welsh tale that has come down to us.⁷³ However, there is support for the identification of the hosts who arrive in Britain from Asiatic lands in 'Ymarwar Llud bychan' with the *Coraniait* in Triad 36, which lists one of the three oppressions of the Island of Britain as: 'Kywdavt y Corryanyeit, a doethant eman y noes Caswallavn mab Beli, ac nyt aeth vrun onadunt dracheuyn. Ac or Auia pan hanoedynt' ('the people of the Coraniaid, who came here in the time of Caswallawn [= Lludd (?)] son of Beli: and not one of them went back. And they came from Arabia').⁷⁴ The identification of the origins of the *Coraniait* as Arabic would work well with their characterization through *gwybot* ('knowledge').⁷⁵ The association of Arabs with knowledge, magic, and arcane arts is a commonplace in medieval literature and also attested for Wales.⁷⁶ Another small element which, whilst not necessarily diagnostic on its own, might contribute to

⁷⁰ Aurell, *La légende du roi Arthur*, pp. 145, 148.

⁷¹ Aurell, *La légende du roi Arthur*, p. 149.

⁷² *Prophecies from the Book of Taliesin*, ed. and trans. by Haycock, p. 177.

⁷³ *Cyfranc*, ed. by Roberts, p. 2; *The Mabinogion*, trans. by Davies, p. 112.

⁷⁴ *TYP*², p. 84; the brackets are Bromwich's; see also *Cyfranc*, ed. by Roberts, pp. xvii–xviii.

⁷⁵ *Cyfranc*, ed. by Roberts, p. 2; *The Mabinogion*, trans. by Davies, p. 112.

⁷⁶ See above, p. 43.

this interpretation, is the way in which the *Coranieit* are overcome in the tale — by sprinkling water on them.⁷⁷ Whilst the beetles crushed in the water make direct parallels impossible, the sprinkling of the water invokes the image of baptism, an accepted means of dealing with Saracens in medieval fiction.⁷⁸ Further, if taken at face value, without attempts at reconstruction or assuming scribal or transmission error, *Coraniaid* is a compound of *Coran-* with the plural ending *-iaid*.⁷⁹ The increasing likelihood of the association of these peoples with the Arabic world makes it possible to suggest tentatively that what we may have here is a unique early reference in Welsh literature to the people of the Qur'an.⁸⁰

Continuing with the subject of fictional British contact with the Orient, and returning to the subject of British fictional travel to the Orient, there is a further medieval Welsh text which contains Oriental place-names and a suggestion of distant travel by Arthurian knights: *Historia Peredur*. While the earliest date suggested for *Peredur* is the eleventh century, the generally accepted date-range for the composition of this text is between the beginning of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries, with the understanding that some elements are derived from the *Conte du Graal* of Chrétien de Troyes and therefore date, at the earliest, from the end of the twelfth century.⁸¹ *Peredur* survives in four manuscripts: Peniarth 7, Peniarth 14 (s. xiv¹), WB, and RB.⁸² Peniarth 14 is a fragment, lacking the end of the narrative. Peniarth 7

⁷⁷ *Cyfranc*, ed. by Roberts, pp. 3–4; *The Mabinogion*, trans. by Davies, p. 113–14.

⁷⁸ See the discussion in Chapter 3 above.

⁷⁹ *TYP*², p. 86. The construction functions on the same principles as *sarassinyeit*, discussed in Chapter 1 above.

⁸⁰ In the light of increased evidence for Welsh contact with and knowledge of the Middle East, the argument that the name Qur'an is otherwise unattested in medieval Welsh carries limited weight.

⁸¹ Archibald and Putter, 'Selective Chronology', p. xv, give the eleventh century as the 'probable time of composition' for both *Peredur* and *Culhwch*. For the French parallel, Chrétien de Troyes's *Conte du graal*, see *Roman de Perceval*, ed. by Busby. Other parallel traditions include Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, ed. by Lachmann. There is an English translation by Mustard and Passage (see pp. xxxvii–xli for a discussion of the relationship between the Welsh and German versions). Luttrell, 'Le Conte del graal', pp. 11 and 16, argues that the Welsh tale dates to the thirteenth century and was based on several French sources. P. W. Thomas dates the earliest stratum of the written text's composition to c. 1275×1325 ('Cyd-berthynas', p. 41).

⁸² For the texts of these versions see *Historia Peredur vab Efrafc*, ed. by Goetinck, pp. 160–87; for information regarding the manuscripts, see *MWM*, pp. 58–60; the date I give for Peniarth 14 is for the section containing *Peredur* only; according to Huws, the date of the rest of the manuscript is s. xiii² (p. 58); see also Huws, 'Pedair Llawysgrif', pp. 5–7.

represents an earlier, shorter version of the narrative.⁸³ This manuscript appears to represent the oldest stratum of the tale's development.⁸⁴ The second oldest is represented by Peniarth 14, and the newest is the text version of the WB and the RB.⁸⁵ The lack of continuity between the episodes in *Peredur* can be compared to episodes of James Bond, where the object of the hero's affection in one episode does not reappear in the next, apparently forgotten by author, hero, and audience. The narrative loosely corresponds to that found in *Conte du graal*, bar a number of episodes unique to the Welsh text, two of which are discussed below.⁸⁶

One of *Peredur*'s adventures involves his meeting and living for fourteen years with the *amherodres Cristinobyl* (or *Corsdinobyl*) *vawr*, whose title is commonly translated as 'Empress of Constantinople', whom he marries.⁸⁷ The shorter, Peniarth 7, version of the story ends here with the words: 'Ac y velly yt'vyna kynnyd paredur ap Efracw', ('And so ends the progress of *Peredur* son of *Efrog*'), suggesting that the marriage provides a closure and an end to the whole narrative.⁸⁸

The two Oriental place-names in *Peredur*, India and Constantinople, are associated with what appears to be the same recurring female character.⁸⁹ *Peredur* first encounters her as a maiden sitting on a mound, who instructs him: 'Pan geissych ti viui, keis parth a'r India' ('When you search for me, look towards India').⁹⁰ When the hero later meets the Empress, she informs him that she was that maiden.⁹¹ The reference to India, in the light of the later explanation, appears to be exclusively directional. The Empress is thus associated with Oriental place-names. She has been discussed in detail by Glenys Goetinck,

⁸³ Petrovskaia, 'Dating *Peredur*', pp. 229–30; Aronstein, 'Becoming Welsh', p. 139.

⁸⁴ T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'Textual Tradition', p. 28.

⁸⁵ T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'Textual Tradition'.

⁸⁶ For a summary of the narrative and discussions of its structure, see Lovecy, '*Historia Peredur ab Efracw*', Lloyd-Morgan, 'Narrative Structure'.

⁸⁷ For more on the variation, see Petrovskaia, 'Dating *Peredur*', p. 232.

⁸⁸ *Historia Peredur vab Efracw*, ed. by Goetinck, p. 181; trans. in S. Davies, 'Written Text', p. 144; note that *yt'vyna* should be expanded as *y teruyna* ('ends'). The marriage has been regarded as an ending, if only for a section of the tale, by scholars engaged on the study of the structure of *Peredur*; Roberts, 'Tales and Romances', 60–62; S. Davies, 'Cynnyd *Peredur*', pp. 68 and 70–71; Aronstein, 'Becoming Welsh', p. 139; Goetinck, *Peredur*, p. 80.

⁸⁹ See Goetinck, *Peredur*, pp. 47–48.

⁹⁰ *Historia Peredur vab Efracw*, ed. by Goetinck, p. 47; *The Mabinogion*, trans. by Davies, p. 89.

⁹¹ *Historia Peredur vab Efracw*, ed. by Goetinck, p. 53; *The Mabinogion*, trans. by Jones and Jones, p. 178; *The Mabinogion*, trans. by Davies, p. 92; *The Mabinogion*, trans. by Ganz, p. 246.

who has suggested that the character represents the 'Sovereignty goddess'.⁹² Since this theory has taken a strong hold on scholarship of medieval Welsh literature, the construction of any alternative interpretation first necessitates its deconstruction.⁹³

According to Goetinck, in the episode with the Empress, the miller with whom Peredur stays and who serves as his guide in the situation 'is the Otherworld figure connected with Sovereignty, and he is present at Peredur's meetings with [the Empress]'.⁹⁴ Let us leave the first part of the proposition for the moment, and concentrate on the second. Although the miller is present at the first meeting of Peredur and the Empress, he is not mentioned at all in the account of the second meeting.⁹⁵ Peredur, when given the three consecutive goblets of wine by the Empress and emptying them, gives them to the miller's wife.⁹⁶ If the miller is not expressly stated to have been present at all the meetings between Peredur and the Empress (and he is not), this makes Goetinck's theory regarding him less probable, as it is shown to be based only on the miller's presence at one meeting with the Empress only. At first sight, a folk-tale otherworldly motif might seem to be the only explanation for such an apparently lowly creature as a miller to visit an empress. Yet the question of the miller's status is not as straightforward as might at first appear. According to Christopher Dyer, millers and smiths were by virtue of their occupation, endowed with higher status within their village societies.⁹⁷ Moreover, a miller's was not necessarily a plebeian calling, as F. R. H. Du Boulay points out.⁹⁸

⁹² For her reading of the tale of *Peredur*, as well as other Welsh tales, in this context, see Goetinck, *Peredur*, pp. 129–55, esp. pp. 147–54.

⁹³ For criticism of the 'Sovereignty theory' see Sessle, 'Exploring the Limitations of the Sovereignty Goddess', pp. 9–10; Wood, 'Review of Caitlin Matthews, *Arthur and the Sovereignty of Britain*', p. 113. For an alternative interpretation of the Empress, see Petrovskaja, 'Dating *Peredur*'.

⁹⁴ Goetinck, *Peredur*, p. 147.

⁹⁵ *Historia Peredur vab Efrafc*, ed. by Goetinck, p. 55; *The Mabinogion*, trans. by Davies, p. 93.

⁹⁶ *Historia Peredur vab Efrafc*, ed. by Goetinck, pp. 55–56; *The Mabinogion*, trans. by Davies, pp. 93–94.

⁹⁷ Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 11.

⁹⁸ 'Who Were Farming', p. 455. It could be argued that Du Boulay's discussion and example (Archbishop Thomas Cranmer's brother-in-law) belongs to a period long after *Peredur* is commonly believed to have been composed, but *Peredur* manuscripts date to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which brings us closer to that period, and, indeed, Andrew Breeze has suggested a later date for *Peredur* than commonly accepted precisely on the basis of the mention

The higher social status of Du Boulay's 'millers' may, therefore, go some way to explain some apparent peculiarities of the character in *Peredur*. The miller acts as host to the knight, which already implies a certain status. Furthermore, the description of the valley explicitly states that it contained mills and the tents of the Empress, which implies that there was a large number of mills, and we have the explicit statement that the miller we are concerned with is the head miller over all of the mills.⁹⁹ This is also indicative of no mean social standing. This evidence presents us with an alternative explanation as regards the miller's visit to the Empress' tent. It can be argued that the miller had significant enough status to be a representative of the local population (at least as far as the valley with the mills was concerned) to the Empress. There is thus no need to invoke the 'Otherworld' to explain him.

Another argument against the application of the 'Sovereignty theory' to the tale in relation to the Empress, is that the theory, first conceived to explain the figure of Medb in Irish literature, appears to have by now been stretched beyond reasonable limits.¹⁰⁰ It has been applied to the *Odyssey*, Saxo Grammaticus, Snorri Sturlusson, and Shakespeare.¹⁰¹ The interpretation of a gift of drink to a man as a 'token of acceptance or rejection' is not necessarily incorrect.¹⁰² However, the interpretation of the giver as a figure of Sovereignty whose gift of a cup of wine is equivalent to the recognition of a new head of state seems superfluous. The sharing of drink is a common element in marriage ceremonies of various cultures and as such it is questionable whether additional meaning should or, indeed, can be ascribed to it. Examples include medieval Byzantium, where marriage involved communion and thus a common cup, blessed by the priest and given to the couple; Western Christian marriage could also involve drink; in the Jewish tradition, the bridegroom drank the wine first and then gave it to the bride; the Shinto ceremony of Japan reverses the process with the bride drinking first.¹⁰³ To argue from *reductio ad absurdum*: to read shared

of windmills in the text ('Peredur Son of Efracw and Windmills'); even if Breeze's argument might not necessarily be applicable to the whole text, it indicates that the windmill episode could be a later interpolation; consequently, the figure of the miller could also be a later feature.

⁹⁹ *Historia Peredur vab Efracw*, ed. by Goetinck, p. 52; *The Mabinogion*, trans. by Davies, p. 92.

¹⁰⁰ Ó Máille, 'Medb Cruachna'; and discussion in Petrovskaia, 'Dating *Peredur*'.

¹⁰¹ Aguirre, 'Life, Crown, and Queen', p. 164.

¹⁰² Aguirre, 'Life, Crown, and Queen', p. 164.

¹⁰³ See Meyendorff, 'Christian Marriage', p. 106; Roth, *Daily Life of the Jews in the Middle Ages*, p. 47; Peters, 'Gender, Sacrament and Ritual', p. 85 n. 52 for a sixteenth-century English example.

drink as a sign of Sovereignty would make a Sovereignty goddess of every single bride whose bridegroom drinks from a shared cup after her.

The alternative interpretation is to see in the Empress of *Peredur* a figure of political relevance. The use of the imperial title in Welsh appears to be a sign of the political significance of the character described. The only medieval Welsh literary work where the imperial title is used for other characters is *Breudwyt Maxen*, where Maxen is emperor of Rome, and the Welsh woman of his dream, Elen, is called empress three times, notably, before she marries him.¹⁰⁴ *Breudwyt Maxen* is highly politically charged, especially in regard to the figure of Elen, dealing as it does with claims on sovereignty and land.¹⁰⁵ This implies that the use of the imperial title is an indication that the figure it is applied to is seen to have political significance, as well as independence, since Elen, who is wooed by Maxen as an equal, is called by that title before marriage.

I have already presented an argument elsewhere in favour of the Empress of *Peredur* being Henry I's daughter Matilda, widow of the Holy Roman emperor.¹⁰⁶ Not only was she the daughter-in-law (by her second marriage) of the King of Jerusalem (the great city of Christ par excellence to the medieval mind), but she also retained her imperial title, acquired in her first marriage, throughout her life. As attested, for example, by the reference to her as empress in *Brut y Tywysogion* and by her coinage.¹⁰⁷ Her arrival in England from Anjou in 1139 initiated the period known as the Anarchy and her main base of support was in the March and South Wales.¹⁰⁸ She would undoubtedly have been a figure familiar to the Welsh. According to Orderic Vitalis, Welshmen were present in the battle of Lincoln on Matilda's side.¹⁰⁹ Also according to Orderic, Robert of Gloucester, Matilda's half-brother (the illegitimate son of Henry I), having welcomed her to England, had 'called the Welsh to his aid'.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁴ *Breudwyt Maxen*, ed. by Roberts, pp. 6, 7, 8.

¹⁰⁵ Sims-Williams, 'Some Functions of Origin Stories'.

¹⁰⁶ Petrovskaia, 'Dating *Peredur*'.

¹⁰⁷ See below and King, *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*, pp. 187–88.

¹⁰⁸ Bradbury, *Stephen and Matilda*, p. 60.

¹⁰⁹ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, vi, 536–37 542–43.

¹¹⁰ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, vi, 536–37; for more on Robert's support of Matilda, see R. B. Patterson, 'William of Malmesbury's Robert of Gloucester', and Leedom, 'William of Malmesbury'. For more on Welsh support of the Angevin cause, see J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, II, 489; for references to other chronicles which also mention Welsh participation see Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, vi, 536 n. 1.

The Welshmen present at the battle of Lincoln included Morgan ab Owain of Glamorgan, Cadwaladr ap Gruffudd ap Cynan of Gwynedd, and one referred to as his brother 'Maredudd', usually taken to be his brother-in-law, Madog ap Maredudd, king of Powys.¹¹¹

An additional argument is that Matilda is referred to in another independent Welsh source, *Brut y Tywysogion*, as *yr amherodres* ('the empress') in an entry relating to her arrival in England. The Peniarth 20 entry runs as follows: 'Blwydyn wedi hynny y doeth yr amherodres y loygyr wrth darystwng lloegyr yw ymab aelwit henri. kanys merch oed hi yr henri kyntaf vab gwilym bastard' ('A year after that the empress came to England to subdue England for her son, who was called Henry; for she was a daughter of Henry the First, son of William the Bastard').¹¹² That the chronicler did not deem it necessary to provide her name implies that that as far as he and his audience were concerned there was only one empress who could possibly be referred to. Although the entry seems to indicate an incomprehension on the part of the chronicler of the concept of Matilda wanting the throne for herself, it is nevertheless an indication of both Welsh familiarity with the figure and of the fact that she was the only empress so familiar (otherwise her name would have to be provided to identify her). That the figure suggested here is Anglo-Norman, while *Peredur* is a native Welsh tale, does not necessarily produce a contradiction. The issue of the glorification of a Brittonic hero (Arthur) in the Norman courts is a similar phenomenon.¹¹³ If what we are observing in *Peredur* is the reverse of that process (in the glorification of a Norman within a Brittonic text) this phenomenon is no more strange than the other. Note also that most surviving Arthurian material from the mid-twelfth century onwards has Anglo-Norman associations, thus the lack of such in *Peredur* would have been an exception to the general rule rather than otherwise.¹¹⁴

To conclude, *Peredur*'s use of 'Constantinople' and India appears to be similar to the use of geographical references in *Culhwch*, 'Alexander I', and the Charlemagne Cycle. The similarity with the place-names in *Culhwch* lies also in the mutations undergone by the term for Constantinople in the various manu-

¹¹¹ Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen*, p. 142 n. 22; Crouch, 'The March and the Welsh Kings', p. 277.

¹¹² *ByT: Pen. 20*, p. 89; *ByT: Pen. 20 tr.*, p. 52; cf. *ByT: RB*, pp. 116–17.

¹¹³ For discussions, see for example, Gerould, 'King Arthur', 33–51; R. S. Loomis, 'Edward I'; and more recently Heng, *Empire of Magic*, p. 39.

¹¹⁴ Gerould, 'King Arthur', p. 50.

scripts. The primary object of the place-names in *Culhwch*, 'Alexander I', and the Charlemagne Cycle appears to be related to the political concern of legendary imperial claims. The universality of the list in *Culhwch* in particular appears to be connected to the Welsh desire to represent Arthur as the culmination of the *translatio imperii*, and greater than any Continental equivalent. It also appears that lists of Charlemagne's conquests in Welsh translations were altered to take that trend into account and to implicitly (re-)assert Arthur's supremacy. The presence of the Alexander poems in the Book of Taliesin attests to the availability of the Alexander legend in Wales, in both its 'marvels of India' ('Alexander II') and conquest-related ('Alexander I') aspects. The fact that the Welsh were thinking of their rulers (real or legendary) in *translatio* terms is attested also in *Vita Griffini filii Conani*. That they were also thinking of Arthur in those terms can be seen from the comparison of the *Culhwch* list with the similar lists in 'Alexander I' and *Cronicl Turpin*. It can be argued that this phenomenon is a product of Welsh political concerns, and in particular a desire to construct an image of a legendary British empire, perhaps in opposition to the contemporary (and very real) Angevin empire.¹¹⁵

Whilst tentative parallels can be drawn between the two traditions, the connection between the figures of Arthur and Charlemagne stands out in greater relief. *Culhwch*'s construction of Arthur's imperial identity, one that can rival those of both Alexander and Charlemagne, is built on the list of conquests. The addition of unidentifiable place-names suggests an attempt to add mystery and a greater geographical scope to Arthur's conquests. Thus whether the author/s of the list in *Culhwch* made use of imaginary places or only of places they imagined were on the map, but had misremembered the names for, and altered them beyond recognition, the fact remains that the instantly recognizable place-names anchor Arthur's conquests onto a global geographical framework and establish him firmly as an international power to rival and outshine the legendary continental rulers Alexander and Charlemagne. That the list places Arthur's conquest above and beyond similar attempts by Alexander and Charlemagne may also be interpreted as an application of the *translatio imperii* concept. Arthur's empire, or at least his campaigning, is shown to be greater than those of the two other rulers, with the *imperium* in this case going from Alexander to Arthur. It should be remembered that Charlemagne's empire claimed descent from the Romans; the British from Brutus. In Geoffrey's

¹¹⁵ For a different discussion of the construction of a British empire and concepts of kingship in Welsh Arthurian tales, see Over, *Kingship, Conquest and Patria*.

Historia, which provided the foundation legend for the latter, Brutus had left Italy before the foundation of Rome, and himself was an heir of Aeneas.¹¹⁶ Thus Arthur and Charlemagne are truly rivals, representing the culmination points of two distinct *translatio* movements, neither of which had precedence. Charlemagne's conquests in the texts of the Welsh corpus were then redacted slightly to allow Arthur to outshine him. Ultimately, the list in *Culhwch* is not primarily intended to provide a sense of exoticism, but to create a very tangible claim to significance, and in that it is not alone in medieval Welsh prose literature. The other example is presented by *Peredur*, with its references to the seemingly mysterious Oriental place-names of India and Constantinople.

Whilst it could be argued that compared to the expanding Orient threatening Europe in the Charlemagne legends, the Orient of the native Welsh tradition remains conveniently distant, as in Arthur's conquests in *Culhwch*, the existence of literary constructions of threats to or incursions on British lands from Asia, Arabia, and Africa in some of our sources, suggest that there was a theme of the immediacy of the Oriental in Welsh, as well as in French, tradition. Whilst the poetry of Elidir Sais, discussed in Chapter 2, stands between the two extremes by comparing local political events to those taking place in the distant contemporary Orient, in *Peredur* the exotic place-names are related to Welsh political concerns, and indeed, also probably to the issue of relation with the Angevins. While India can be argued to echo the distant conquests of Arthur in *Culhwch*, the reference in *Peredur*, whether to Constantinople or to Jerusalem, appears to refer to contemporary events closer to home. While the interpretation of Empress of Constantinople as referring to Empress Matilda might seem to indicate that the concerns of *Peredur* are more local than those of the other texts discussed in this chapter, other elements of the tale indicate a concern (although still contemporary) with more general themes, including various issues connected to crusading, which we have encountered in the Charlemagne Cycle. The crusading element of *Peredur* is discussed in the following chapter.

¹¹⁶ See also Hoofnagle, 'Altera Troia', p. 60.

CHRISTIANS VERSUS PAGANS: PEREDUR AND OWAIN IN STRANGE LANDS

The apparent glorification of the Norman Matilda as Empress of Constantinople in *Peredur* is only one of the unexpected features of this narrative. Another episode, which has also attracted little scholarly attention, is relevant to our discussion because it treats the theme of the contemporary Orient. This, known as the *Dyffryn Crwn* episode, involves the battle with and conversion of non-Christian giants who inhabit a *dyffryn crwn* ('round valley').¹ In it, the hero, Peredur, swears for the love of Angharad Law Eurawc 'Golden Hand', who spurns him, that he will refrain from speaking to any Christian until she changes her mind and accepts him. His travels subsequently take him to a valley of non-Christian giants, the entrance to which is guarded by a fierce lion. There, he stays for a night and converses with the inhabitants.² The next morning he is attacked by his host's vassals, who claim they cannot let a Christian leave the valley alive. Peredur overcomes them, and discovering that they are not Christian, expresses his relief that he had not broken his oath. He then sends them to Arthur to pay homage and be baptized. Subsequently he himself also travels back to Arthur's court, but meets Arthur's retinue on the way. Remembering his oath, he refuses to speak to them. He then overthrows a knight who has challenged Arthur's retinue, and Angharad, the disdainful beauty, confesses her love for him, without realizing his identity.³

¹ Discussed in Petrovskaja, 'Oaths, Pagans and Lions'.

² *Historia Peredur vab Efrauc*, ed. by Goetinck, pp. 37–39; *The Mabinogion*, trans. by Davies, pp. 83–84.

³ *Historia Peredur vab Efrauc*, ed. by Goetinck, p. 42; *The Mabinogion*, trans. by Davies, p. 86.

He accepts her love, and the story, without any transition, moves on to the next adventure.

The crucial clue to the crusading nature of the *Dyffryn Crwn* episode is Peredur's oath, made at the beginning: 'Na dywedaf inheu eir vyth wrth Gristyaw'n'.⁴ His subsequent encounter with non-Christians re-contextualizes the wording of his oath, making it clear that Peredur's mention of 'Christian' is referring to a specific group and should be taken in opposition to 'non-Christian', rather than as an equivalent of 'anyone'. The prominent theme of this episode appears to be the Christian/non-Christian dichotomy. This is marked by reiteration of Peredur's oath and the threefold repetition of the reference to the custom of the valley's inhabitants to not allow Christians to leave.⁵ The non-Christians in this episode are designated either through individual traits (e.g. 'grey-haired man') or as giants. However, no reference is made to the religion of these giants. The word *paganyeit* is not used in this text. All that is known is that they are not Christian and are baptized at the end of the episode. The Christian/non-Christian dichotomy is therefore slightly different from, albeit reminiscent of, that found in *Brut y Tywysogion*. Remains the question of their identity — which group from the non-fictional world or from the world of wider European imagination do these giants represent?

Non-Christian giants occur in two other major texts circulating in Wales during the same period as *Peredur*: the *Historia regum* and *Cronicl Turpin*.⁶ It is therefore possible that the giant non-Christians of *Peredur* could be either a reflection of the original inhabitants of the British Isles, displaced by Brutus in the *Historia regum*, or an echo of the Saracens of the Charlemagne Cycle, some of whom are giants.⁷ The only other giants in medieval Welsh native texts of potentially similar nature to the giants of *Peredur*, are the one-legged

⁴ *Historia Peredur vab Efwawc*, ed. by Goetinck, p. 36; *The Mabinogion*, trans. by Davies, p. 82: 'I will never utter a word to any Christian'.

⁵ *Historia Peredur vab Efwawc*, ed. by Goetinck, pp. 36, 37, 39; *The Mabinogion*, trans. by Davies, pp. 82, 83, 84. Jonathan Miles-Watson presents a different reading of this episode, suggesting that Peredur's oath is made to mention Christians specifically, and the giants are described as non-Christian in order to explain why he speaks to them; *Welsh Mythology*, p. 149.

⁶ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, I. 21, ed. by Reeve and trans. by Wright, pp. 26–27; *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, pp. 25–33 ('The History of Charlemagne', trans. by R. Williams, pp. 102–09).

⁷ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, I. 21, ed. by Reeve and trans. by Wright, pp. 26–27; other giants include Africans in *Historia regum*, who move Stonehenge, see above, p. 44.

and one-eyed giant of the beginning of *Owain*, Ysbaddaden of *Culhwch*, and Bendigeidfran of *Branwen*.⁸ However, these latter, unlike the giants of *Peredur*, the *Historia regum*, or the Charlemagne Cycle, have no explicit non-Christian background. They can be therefore set aside with reasonable certainty. Only the giant of *Owain* requires a more detailed examination, because of the two texts' connections. The fact that he occupies a wooded space echoes the giants of the *dyffryn crwn* in *Peredur*, with their black houses in the forest. Since there is a selection of possible giants, it is worthwhile to address the earliest first, the giants faced by Brutus in the *Historia regum*.

There has been an argument that the giants of the *dyffryn crwn* represented native inhabitants of the British Isles, with *Peredur* representing the colonizing Norman culture as its assimilated subject.⁹ However, since *Peredur* represents the interests of the ultimate British hero, Arthur, such an interpretation is unlikely. There is no evidence that native occupants of the British Isles in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries were regarded as non-Christian giants. The non-Christian giant natives of Britain encountered in Geoffrey's *Historia regum* are removed by Brutus well before Arthurian times.¹⁰ For two other giants in Geoffrey's *Historia regum*, the Giant of Mont St Michel and the Giant of Mont Arauius, an argument of Saracen identity can be made.¹¹ We will return to these.

Looking further for potential parallels, the most common interpretation for the giant figure encountered in one of the other Welsh 'romances', *Owain*, is that he represents a deity.¹² *Owain* and *Peredur*, together with *Ystoria Geraint vab Erbin*, are known as the *Tair Rhامant* (*Three Romances*), all of which have parallels in the works composed by Chrétien de Troyes towards the end of the twelfth century.¹³ *Owain* survives in three medieval manuscripts: WB

⁸ *Branwen uerch Lyr*, ed. by Thomson.

⁹ Aronstein, 'Becoming Welsh', pp. 161–62. For an alternative postcolonialist reading of *Peredur*, see Over, *Kingship, Conquest and Patria*, pp. 138–42, 156, 158–63 and 'Hybridity Reconsidered'.

¹⁰ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, ed. by Reeve and trans. by Wright, pp. 26–27.

¹¹ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, X.165, ed. by Reeve and trans. by Wright, pp. 224–27.

¹² Goetinck, 'Y Forwyn Bengrych', p. 83.

¹³ *Ystoria Geraint*, ed. by R. L. Thomson; the translations used are from *The Mabinogion*, trans. by Davies. For discussions of all three romances, see Middleton, 'Chwedl Geraint ab Erbin', R. L. Thomson, 'Owain', and Lovecy, 'Historia Peredur ab Efwarg'. For the French romances, see Chrétien de Troyes, *Le Chevalier au Lion (Yvain)*, ed. by Roques; *Erec and Enide*,

(Peniarth 4), RB, and Oxford, Jesus College MS 20 (s. xiv/xv).¹⁴ As with the other 'Romances', the dating of this text is uncertain. The options range from the end of the twelfth century to 1250×1284.¹⁵ One of the greatest difficulties in any discussion of any one of the 'Romances' is the issue of their relation to each other, largely dependent on their standing in relation to Chrétien's narratives. The latter problem, which has been at the centre of attention for some time, remains unresolved: while some scholars assume that the Welsh 'Romances' are derivations from French originals, others argue that the Welsh versions retain elements pre-dating the French romances.¹⁶ The *Tair Rhامant* are not, however, treated as a unit in the manuscript tradition, but are rather separated by other tales. In the WB, while *Peredur* occurs between *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* (*Four Branches of the Mabinogi*) and *Breuddwyd Maxen*, followed by *Lludd a Llefelys* and *Owain*; *Geraint* is separated from these by a large number of other texts, and followed immediately by *Culhwch*.¹⁷ In the RB *Peredur* follows immediately on *Owain*, followed by *Breuddwyd Maxen* and *Lludd a Llefelys*, while *Geraint* is separated from these by *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, but followed immediately, again, by *Culhwch*.¹⁸

ed. by Carroll; *Le Roman de Perceval*, ed. by Busby; for translations: *The Story of the Grail*, ed. by Pickens, trans. by Kibler; *Arthurian Romances*, trans. by Comfort.

¹⁴ *MWM*, p. 60. Only the RB preserves the complete text, the other two manuscripts containing fragments of the tale; *Owein*, ed. by Thomson, p. ix. Seven later manuscripts also contain the text: NLW, MSS Peniarth 120 (s. xvii^{cc}), Llanstephan 148, Pantón 68 (1650), Llanstephan 171 (1574), Llanover B.17 (1585–90), Cwrtmawr 20 (1750), Llanstephan 58 (early s. xvii); *Owein*, ed. by Thomson, p. x; for Peniarth 120 see *The Welsh Life of St David*, ed. by Evans, p. lv n. 201, and J. G. Evans, *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, I, 334–36; for Llanstephan 148, see *Cân Rolant*, ed. and trans. by Rejlon, pp. 14–15; for Pantón 68, see Lloyd-Morgan, 'From Ynys Wydrin to Glasynbri', p. 164.

¹⁵ R. L. Thomson, 'Owain', p. 159; Diverres, 'Iarlles y Ffynawn and *Le Chevalier au Lion*'.

¹⁶ Much has been written on the subject; for discussions, see, for instance, Foster, 'Gereint, *Owein* and *Peredur*'; Middleton, 'Studies in the Textual Relationships of the Erec/Gereint Stories'; R. L. Thomson, 'Owain', pp. 164–68; Diverres, 'Iarlles y Ffynawn and *Le Chevalier au Lion*'; Koch, 'Celtic Lands', pp. 280–88; Putter, 'Twelfth-Century Arthur', p. 37; Zink, *Littérature française du Moyen Âge*, p. 146; Roberts, 'Welsh Romance', pp. 170, 179–82; Lacy, 'Arthurian Legend', p. 48 n. 21.

¹⁷ See <<http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/ms-home.php?ms=Pen4>> [accessed 9 April 2014].

¹⁸ This implies that *Geraint* belongs to a slightly different tradition from *Owain* and *Peredur*. Indeed, it does not appear to contain the kind of Oriental elements found in the two other tales.

The relationship with the works of Chrétien is crucial. *Peredur's* giants make no appearance in the French version of the story, and *Owain's* giant takes an entirely different aspect. In order to establish whether they are the same kind of giant it is necessary to examine the evidence for *Owain's* giant. The story of *Owain* involves travel 'to the remote and uninhabited regions of the world'.¹⁹ As it turns out, these regions are as 'uninhabited' as the Isle of Britain was in the days before Brutus's arrival in the *Historia regum*. Just as Brutus finds some giants in Britain, whom he quickly deals with, Cynon, and later Owain, come across a set of strangers, including a giant, in the 'uninhabited regions' they visit.

A gwr du mawr a wely ym penn yr orssed ny bo llei no deuwr o wyr y byt hwn; ac vn troet yssyd idaw, ac vn llygat yg knewillyn y tal; a ffon yssyd idaw o hayarn, a diheu yw ytti nat oes deuwr yn y byt ny chaffo eu llwyth yn y ffon. Ac nyt gwr anhygar efo: gwr hagyr yw ynteu. A choydwr ar y koet hwnnw yw. A thi a wely mil o aniueileit gwyllt yn pori yn y gylch.²⁰

And you will see on top of the mound an enormous black-haired man no smaller than two men of this world. And he has one foot, and he has one eye in the middle of his forehead; and he has an iron club which I assure you would take two men of this world to lift. He is not a violent man, but he is ugly. And he is keeper of that forest. You will see a thousand wild animals grazing around him.²¹

According to Sioned Davies, the enormous black-haired man who is keeper of the forest, has one foot and one eye, and carries a club, is associated 'with the Celtic horned god Cernunnos, often portrayed as an antlered god seated cross-legged'.²² However, a considerable difficulty is involved in reconciling the horned nature of the Celtic god, and the un-horned nature of the black-haired man in *Owain*. Even more difficult to reconcile are the images of a cross-legged god and the one-legged giant. These are by definition mutually exclusive. The only similarity appears to be power over animals. It is more likely that the enormous man is an echo of the Cyclops of the *Aeneid* (very much familiar to the medieval reader).²³ We will return to this suggestion.

¹⁹ *Owein or Chwedyl Iarlles y Ffynnwawn*, ed. by Thomson, p. 2; *The Mabinogion*, trans. by Davies, p. 117.

²⁰ *Owein or Chwedyl Iarlles y Ffynnwawn*, ed. by Thomson, p. 5.

²¹ *The Mabinogion*, trans. by Davies, pp. 118–19.

²² *The Mabinogion*, trans. by Davies, p. 254 n. 119.

²³ Virgil, *Aeneid*, III. 569, 617, 644, 647, 675, VI. 630, VIII. 418, 424, 440; XI. 263, ed. by Henderson and trans. by Fairclough. For a discussion of the *Aeneid's* medieval transmission and readership, see Baswell, *Virgil*. Also familiar to the modern reader. I was delighted to find my

Matthieu Boyd suggests that the giant in *Owain* represents a Moor, using this as an example for his argument of the fusion of the representation of Muslims and Celts.²⁴ His argument rests on the comparison between the description of *Owain*'s giant and of a Saracen in *Bown*.²⁵ Yet, as with the Cernunnos solution, there are a number of difficulties.²⁶ *Bown*'s Saracen has two eyes, rather than one in the middle of his forehead (as with *Owain*'s forester). He also has tusks, bony legs, and hair like that of wild horses, amongst other attributes.²⁷ None of these attributes belong to *Owain*'s forester. However, they are very similar to the attributes of the equivalent character in Chrétien de Troyes, *Le Chevalier au lion*.²⁸ *Bown* and the *Chevalier au lion* both have French origins and *Owain*'s giant's difference may well be attributed to a different background.²⁹ His two major characteristics: single-eyed-ness and single-legged-ness, are not paralleled in the other texts. They do, however, recall images from the medieval tradition of marvels, of the kind depicted in *Delw y byd*. This brings us back to the subject of the Cyclops.

The Cyclops, as a shepherd, had by definition a power over animals, and is found not only in the *Aeneid*, but also in medieval geographical texts, and in particular *Imago mundi* and *Delw y byd*.³⁰ In fact, it is the latter text that may help throw light on the strange one-eyed and one-legged nature of this character, who seems to combine two different monstrosities (medieval definition) in one. The Welsh geographical treatise lists the one-eyed Cyclops in close proximity to the one-footed creature (Sciapod) to which the Welsh text

suggestion echoed by some of my students and gratefully acknowledge the help of discussing it with them for the formulation of my theory.

²⁴ Boyd, 'Celts Seen as Muslims', pp. 27–28.

²⁵ Boyd, 'Celts Seen as Muslims', pp. 26–27.

²⁶ See also critique in Falileyev's review, p. 92; for 'black' giants in Welsh place-names without apparent Oriental connotations, see Grooms, *The Giants of Wales*, referred to by Falileyev.

²⁷ Boyd, 'Celts Seen as Muslims', p. 27.

²⁸ *Le Chevalier au Lion (Yvain)*, ll. 286–311, ed. by Roques, pp. 9–10.

²⁹ Boyd, who draws on the *Chevalier au lion* for his interpretation of the giant in *Owain*, acknowledges that the exact nature of the relationship between the two texts remains unclear ('Celts Seen as Muslims', p. 28). The contextual evidence Boyd presents may also be debated with since his argument is that the interpretation of the giant as Saracen would be possible due to proximity of other texts which also deal with Saracens, yet it must be pointed out that the *Pererindod*, which Boyd notes precedes *Owain* in the WB, contains no Saracens.

³⁰ See, for example, the reference in the RB-B version of *Delw y byd*, fol. 122', col. 505, l. 30.

gives no name.³¹ The Latin text of CCCC, MS 66, which is related to the Welsh texts, contains what probably is similar to the phrasing that is responsible for the confusion of the Welsh text. It appears to be on the way to merging the two creatures: 'et ciclopes sunt et scenopode, qui uno tantum fulti pede, auram custu uincunt, et interram positi, umbram sibi planta pedis erecta fasiunt' ('And Cyclops and Sciapodes, who are propped up by one leg only, who excel in putting it up in the air, and lying on the earth, make themselves a shade from the upright foot').³² Both the RB-A and RB-B versions of *Delw y Byd* are confused. The RB-A text runs as follows:

Yno y maent ryv bobyl vnlllygeityauc, ac a elwir arismapi, a siclopes. Ereill yssyd yno a seithtroet udunt, ac o vntroet, buanach ynt nor awel wynt, a thra orffvysent ar y dayar, y dyrchauant yn wascavt udunt, gvadyn vn oc eu traet.³³

There is a type of one-eyed people, and called Arismapi, and Siclopes. There are others who have seven feet, and [those] with one foot, they are faster than a gust of wind, and when they rest on the earth, they raise the sole of one of their feet as a shelter over them. (my translation)

This differs from the Latin in that it combines several peoples into one. The one-eyed people are in the Latin called *Monoculi*. This is translated in the Welsh version as *bobyl vnlllygeitavc* ('one-eyed people') and merged with *Arismapi* and *Cyclopes*, which appear to be given as alternative names for the one-eyed people. The one-footed creatures remain nameless in the Welsh (which also adds a reference to seven-footed creatures), but in the Latin are called *Scenopodes* (= Sciapods). The RB-B version of *Delw y byd* is even more confused: 'Ereill yssyd yno vnlllygeidavt. Yno ymae arismabi, ac iclopes a whethroet udunt. Ac ar eu hun troet kynt nor gvynt y kerdant' ('There are others there who have one eye. There are Arismabi, and Iclopes [= Cyclopes] who have six legs; and they run before [= faster than] the wind with their one leg').³⁴ Whilst the RB-B text is confused regarding the number of legs a Cyclops has, it crucially already associates them with strange number of feet as opposed to eyes. This proximity and confusion indicates that the one-eyed Cyclops and the one-legged Sciapod may well have merged at some point in the Welsh tradition.

³¹ RB, fol. 122^r, col. 505, ll. 28–30.

³² CCCC, MS 66, p. 10 col. 1, ll. 1–4; my transcription and translation. I have modernised the punctuation in the transcription.

³³ Fol. 244^r, col. 980, ll. 35–40. Cf. *Imago mundi*, ed. by Flint, p. 54.

³⁴ Fol. 122^r, col. 505, ll. 28–30, my transcription and translation.

It seems most likely that the origins of the one-eyed and one-legged master of the animals in *Owain* lie in this confusion, and that the figure thus has oriental origins, or Classical origins with oriental connotations, rather than Celtic mythological ones. The argument that Cynon and Owain visit the Otherworld, and that the one-legged Cyclops is its guardian, is not an entirely satisfactory explanation of the episode, just as it could not be a satisfactory explanation of either the Empress or the *Dyffryn Crwn* episodes of *Peredur*. The giant's identity with Cyclopes and thus the world of the *Aeneid* and the historical Orient also distances him from those in *Peredur*, who are not described other than by size, and who do not appear to have any associations with *Delw y byd*-type learning. Indeed, the closer parallel to the non-Christian giants of *Peredur* is most likely to be in the non-Christian giants of those Welsh-language texts which occur in the same manuscripts as *Peredur*: the works of the Charlemagne Cycle. This will put them in the contemporary Orient.

In medieval texts, and especially the *chansons de geste*, which featured them most frequently, Saracens were often depicted as giants.³⁵ This image developed under the influence of conditions set by medieval synchronized perception of history, a merging of contemporary and biblical Orients, which has already been discussed. In an echo of the biblical story of David and Goliath, Christian knights of medieval romance would invoke the image of David, while the Saracen enemy would acquire the giant characteristics of David's opponent, as indeed happens in the *Cronicl Turpin*, where the giant is explicitly stated to be *o genedyl Goliath* ('of the race of Goliath').³⁶ In this case Roland is David to the Saracen's Goliath. This leads, of course, to the obvious question of whether it is not, in that case, the biblical original rather than its crusade-influenced distortion, that came to bear on the narrative of *Peredur* and similar giant stories. The simple answer is that it is impossible to be certain. However, there is another clue to giants' identity. This is their ultimate conversion, something that does not happen in the biblical original, nor in Geoffrey's *Historia regum*, but almost happens in the *Cronicl Turpin*, where Roland attempts to convert the giant he opposes.³⁷ Like the *Cronicl Turpin*, *Peredur* appears to echo contemporary

³⁵ Meredith-Jones, 'The Conventional Saracen', p. 205; Comfort, 'The Literary Rôle of the Saracens', pp. 632, 645, 649, 651; Speed, 'The Saracens of *King Horn*', pp. 577–80.

³⁶ *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 25 ('The *History of Charlemagne*', trans. by R. Williams, p. 102).

³⁷ See *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, pp. 28–33 ('The *History of Charlemagne*', trans. by R. Williams, pp. 105–09).

doctrinal debate, or at least current issues, in depicting conversion as a way of assimilating and neutralizing the threat of a non-Christian enemy. As we have seen, conversion by force was only acceptable when the subject was a heretic, that is already partly within the sphere into which he was being transferred. It is tempting to suggest that the presence or lack of conversion narratives in conjunction with giant size is indicative of the presence or absence of implied Saracen object. Saracens, like those in *Cronicl Turpin*, could be converted. Giants who were not, as in Brutus's story in *Historia regum*, could not be. It is interesting to apply this to the two giants in the *Historia regum* for whom an argument of Saracen identity can be made.³⁸ One of them is described as having come from Spain and another is associated with a mountain suggestively named Arauius.³⁹ Both are killed by Arthur, rather than converted. Geraldine Heng argues that the name of the mountain in the latter giant story, *Arauius*, means 'the Arabian mountain'. However tempting such an interpretation may be, the argument produced by Heng in its support is fallacious. Heng argues against a Welsh origin for the legend of the Giant of Mount Arauius on the basis of the prominence of a beard motif. She notes that the Normans of the time did not usually wear beards, and seeks an explanation in the importance of beards as symbols of masculinity in the Levant, without noting that beards were also extremely important to the Welsh.⁴⁰ These two giants are therefore problematic, as they could be assigned either to the Saracen giant or the 'native giant' traditions. Lack of conversion, if it could be used as a diagnostic tool, would suggest the latter. One could also argue that destruction, whilst more ambiguous than conversion, can still be an invocation of the contemporary Orient and related crusading concerns. Regardless of the interpretation, the two *Historia regum* giants throw little light on the nature of the *Dyffryn Crwn* giants.

The fact remains that the parallel between the episode in *Peredur* and Roland's opposition to and attempted conversion of the Saracen giant, increases the possibility of crusade connotations for the former. The *Dyffryn Crwn* episode has the (idealized) outcome of a crusade, with the subjugation and the conversion of the non-Christians. This is something that cannot be accounted

³⁸ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, x.165, ed. by Reeve and trans. by Wright, pp. 224–27.

³⁹ Heng, *Empire of Magic*, pp. 36–38 and Tatlock, 'Contemporaneous Matters', pp. 218–19.

⁴⁰ The importance of the beard in Welsh society is illustrated both by *Culhwch* and the Welsh Laws. *Culhwch ac Olwen*, ed. by Bromwich and Evans, pp. lviii n. 58; *Llyfr Iorwerth*, ed. by Wiliam, p. 28; also Sheehan, 'Giants, Boar-Hunts, and Barbering', p. 4.

for by drawing parallels with the Brutus story, since the *Historia regum* has no reference to conversion or assimilation of the giants; they are merely driven away or killed, or to the *Owain* story, where the giant is benign, and not a threat to be converted or eliminated.⁴¹ It is possible that *Peredur* might be displaying the influence of a crusading culture. In it can be seen two of the themes already observed for the Charlemagne Cycle: conversion and conquest ('just war' or rather its justification of self-defence). When compared, the two presentations of conversion seem similar. In *Peredur*, the giants are brought into the fold of Arthur's followers and become his vassals at the same time as they are converted to Christianity. This echoes the situation in *Otuel* and also in the beginning of *Cronicl Turpin*, where Charlemagne conquers the Spanish cities and forces conversion on their inhabitants. It also appears to be a simplified version of the same conversion process as is depicted in *Otuel* or that suggested for, but not followed through by Marsile in *Cân Rolant*. Furthermore, they seem to accept this conversion as a matter of course after having been defeated by force of arms (compare Charlemagne's conversion of the Spanish cities in *Cronicl Turpin*). The confrontation with the non-Christians in *Peredur* does more than echo the wars in the Charlemagne Cycle, it recalls also crusading language, such as that of Pope Lucius III (in office 1181–85).⁴² His commands to the crusading Order of Santiago of 1184 included two directives: that they aim, in their battles against Saracens, either to defend Christians from Saracen attack and aggression, or to attempt to convert the Saracens.⁴³ The discourse is already found in the slightly earlier *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, and appears also to be echoed in *Peredur*, suggesting that all of these expressions of crusading sentiment are part of the same European culture of the mid- to late-twelfth century.

The defence of Christians from attack is certainly a common theme towards the end of the twelfth century, visible in the writings of Gerald and Elidir Sais, and in *Brut y Tywysogion*.⁴⁴ It is made amply clear in the *Dyffryn Crwn* episode that Peredur's conflict with his non-Christian opponents is entirely in the interests of self-defence. It is the giants who are presented as initiating the con-

⁴¹ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, I.21, ed. by Reeve and trans. by Wright, pp. 26–29.

⁴² Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. xv.

⁴³ For the text, see Pope Lucius III to the Knights of Calatrava, Verona, 17 Nov. 1184, in *La documentación Pontificia*, ed. by Mansilla, doc. 124, p. 149. For further examples of papal discourses of conversion, see Burns, 'Christian-Islamic Confrontation', pp. 1389–92.

⁴⁴ Discussed in Chapter 2 above.

flict through their custom of preventing Christians from leaving their valley.⁴⁵ This is a reduction to a smaller scale of the justification of 'just war' also present in the texts of the Charlemagne Cycle, where Charlemagne is described as defending his own cities and his property wrongly appropriated by his enemies, rather than attacking that of the Saracens.⁴⁶ It would, perhaps, be going too far to say that this theme is a reflection of the medieval idea of 'just war', in its full form, but it is worth noting that as a very short episode obviously un-related to the rest of the narrative, it appears to have a simplified and abridged version of the crusading themes that can be observed in *Otuel* or *Cronicl Turpin*, for instance. Peredur not only acts in self-defence but ultimately avenges the fate of all the other Christians who had not been able to leave that valley alive. The outcome of 'just war' is presented in *Peredur* in a way similar to that in the Cycle. In *Cân Rolant*, Charles promises Marsile that if the latter converts, he, Charles, will grant him one half of Spain to rule as his vassal (note that Marsile is prior to this hypothetical conversion ruler of the whole of Spain).⁴⁷ In *Peredur* the parallel is obvious. Peredur promises the non-Christians that he will send word to Arthur to give them (back) their valley once they have converted to Christianity. This appears to represent a conversion not just of the non-Christians themselves, but of their space, making it safe for Christians. It could even be argued that this conversion of space begins with Peredur's arrival, when he kills the lion who guards the entrance to the valley.⁴⁸

Peredur thus seems to fit within the same cultural and political context as some of the texts with which it shares manuscripts, such as the Charlemagne Cycle and *Brut y Tywysogion*. That these texts occur in the same manuscripts as *Peredur* should not be taken as evidence for any affinity seen in these texts by the copyists, as both the WB and RB are large compilations that also contain a number of completely different texts in addition to these, including poetry and religious texts. However, these crusade-related texts, preserved in the same

⁴⁵ *Historia Peredur vab Efwrawc*, ed. by Goetinck, p. 37, *Mabinogion*, trans. by Davies, p. 83.

⁴⁶ For example, Charlemagne's blatantly offensive military action against Garsi in *Otuel* and his actions in Spain in *Cronicl Turpin* are depicted as self-defence in the light of his extensive imperial claims; *Ystorya de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, pp. 17, 46, 49 ('The History of Charlemagne', trans. by R. Williams, pp. 96, 120, 122); *Historia Karoli*, ed. by Meredith-Jones, pp. 128–33; *Otincl*, ed. by Guessard and Michelant, p. 4.

⁴⁷ *Ystorya de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams, p. 113 ('The History of Charlemagne', trans. by R. Williams, p. 171).

⁴⁸ *Historia Peredur vab Efwrawc*, ed. by Goetinck, p. 39; *The Mabinogion*, trans. by Davies, p. 84; for more on the lion, see Petrovskiaia, 'Oaths, Pagans and Lions', pp. 7–8.

manuscripts as *Peredur*, belong to the same milieu as *Peredur*. Since no part of *Peredur* can be dated with any certainty, and since elements of the narrative, including the *Dyffryn Crwn* episode, may have been added to it in the course of transmission, it is possible that it may have come under the influence of such works, or at least of the mind-set that moulded them.⁴⁹ Similar cases, such as Elidir Sais's reference to Holy Land developments, probably influenced by the crusading discourse of the 1180s and 90s, have already been encountered in the course of the present investigation. It is therefore unsurprising that this episode, which appears to be independent from the rest of the narrative, refers obliquely to the contemporary Orient, represented by *Peredur*'s fight with the non-Christian giants which results in their conversion to Christianity. The interpretation of the narrative as a mini-crusade is supported by the evidence of Welsh interest in crusade narratives (the presence of translated texts containing crusade-type references in the WB and the RB), and the evidence for Welsh participation in crusades, surviving in crusade chronicles and in *Brut y Tywysogion*.

The most exciting implication of this is that together with *Historia regum* and *Culhwch*, *Peredur* appears to hint at the possible development, albeit still in embryonic form, of an Arthurian tradition linking the British hero to the contemporary Orient.⁵⁰ *Culhwch*, as we have seen above, attests to the presence of themes of travel to the Orient in the Welsh Arthurian tradition, and *Peredur* itself contains oriental place-names elsewhere in the narrative. Beyond the native Welsh tradition, *Historia regum* pitches Arthur against an Orient (historical or contemporary, depending on the interpretation of the list of Roman allies), and the *Leges Eduardi* designate him crusader, a Northern European equivalent of Charlemagne, fighting Northern European 'Saracens'. Even if no legend detailing Arthur's campaigns in the Orient existed in and of itself, leaving the conquest list of *Culhwch* and the oriental references in *Peredur* in isolation, it is nevertheless possible that the desire to show Arthur as an equal to such figures as Charlemagne, along with the increased Welsh participation in the crusades, may have led to the introduction of the Oriental to some of the

⁴⁹ For suggestions regarding the dating of *Peredur*, see Goetinck, *Peredur*, pp. 36–39, and Breeze, 'Peredur Son of Efraug and Windmills', pp. 61–64.

⁵⁰ The episodic nature of *Peredur* is a warning against any generalizations from conclusions reached relating to a single episode in the text. While the *Dyffryn Crwn* episode may have a crusading theme, it is impossible to determine at what stage it was added to the narrative, or if it was part of it from the outset. Any reference made to crusading elements of *Peredur* therefore is made to the form in which we now have the tale.

travel narratives within the Welsh Arthurian tales. The other romance, *Owain*, whilst not overtly connected to this tradition, also seems to display external (to native Welsh literature) contemporary influences with its possible connection to the historical Orient (in a Virgilian and thus Trojan context) through its one-eyed Sciapod or one-legged Cyclops, a construct paralleled in, and possibly derived, in the form in which it now stands, from *Delw y byd*. Through this encyclopaedic text, *Owain* is connected to contemporary European discourse not in a crusading but rather in a learned context, a situation which moves it further away from both *Peredur* and from the French version of the tale, where the one-legged Cyclops is transformed into a Moor.

CONCLUSION TO PART II

As we have seen, the Orient appears in many different guises in medieval Welsh literary texts, and its incarnations have a variety of functions. For example, while both *Peredur* and *Owain* appear to reflect contemporary cultural elements, the two Orients they invoke are different. In *Peredur's* case, the conversion of the non-Christian giants of the *Dyffryn Crwn* episode appears to be an echo of a crusading narrative tradition (paralleled in the Charlemagne Cycle) and the contemporary Orient, while in *Owain*, the giant forester appears to be an amalgamation of creatures, whose confusion might well be traceable to, or at the very least is paralleled in *Delw y byd*, and could thus be argued to belong to the historical Orient. Although these texts are usually grouped under the same heading, they thus represent two different traditions and two differing views of the Orient. *Culhwch*, with its list of Arthur's conquests, echoing the conquests of Alexander from the Book of Taliesin poems, as well as Charlemagne's crusading and imperial ambitions from the Welsh Cycle, also appears to refer to the contemporary Orient. The sources appear diverse and pull in different directions. Certain common trends, however, can be isolated from this kaleidoscope of usage.

Firstly, the geographical references are linked more often than not to the theme of empire and usually specifically in terms of *translatio imperii*. While he does not appear to have actually conquered the Orient (and thus the discourse of his empire is not Orientalist; his conquests are more often than not in the North), Arthur, like Charlemagne or Alexander, is brought to new heights through accounts of campaigning across the world, including in the Orient, on a truly majestic scale. The difficulty of identification posed by some of the place-names adds to the aura of power surrounding such figures. The familiar place-names are sufficient to establish the breadth of conquest, and the unfamiliar only adds to the impression of broad geographical scope. In *Peredur*, the associations of India and *Cristinobyl*/*Corsdinobyl* with Oriental power, Jerusalem, and empire, serve to underline the importance and magnificence of

the figure of the Empress and, by association, of the Welsh hero who marries her. In the context of comparison between *Peredur* and *Conte du Graal*, it is worth noting that the French version of the hero does not attain such heights and honours, since the Empress is absent from Chrétien's version of the text. It is possible to see this episode as extraneous to the *Conte du Graal*, which depicts the process of education of the Welsh hero, who is initially represented as uncouth and uneducated (far more so than the Welsh text), and thus hardly a candidate for power over great lands.¹ *Peredur*, on the other hand, may well be laying claim to Angevin reward for Welsh aid to their cause in the Anarchy, in the same way that *Breudwyt Maxen*, for example, lays claim to the founding of Brittany, and *Llud a Llefelys* to equality with France.² The implications of *Peredur*'s reign with the Empress can also be compared to those of Glewlwyd's list of Arthur's campaigns in *Culhwch*. The function of both is to claim a grand role and influence in the history of the world by laying claim in Arthur's case to conquests in distant lands, including Oriental ones, and in *Peredur*'s to rule in the Orient (arguably Constantinople and possibly also India). Another similarity between the two cases, which potentially ties back into the idea of a past Brittonic empire, is the fact that both the Oriental empires of Arthur and of *Peredur* are time-limited. *Glewlwyd* refers to Arthur's travels, campaigns and victories, rather than conquests, which implies a non-continuity. Meanwhile, the text of *Peredur* specifies that the hero only dwelt with the Empress for fourteen years. In that aspect, the texts concerning the native Welsh heroes differ from those recounting the conquests of Alexander of Charlemagne.

In all cases of Oriental references examined above, the geography is hardly precise, but in each case the cause of the imprecision may not be a reflection of ignorance, as scholars have all too often hastened to assume, but a conscious aim to induce awe and wonder. In *Peredur*'s case there may also have been a more immediate political motivation. Indeed, of the native texts examined, it is *Peredur* that appears to reflect the most influence from contemporary concerns, as it also appears to echo the crusades in the same way that works of the Charlemagne Cycle do. The interpretation of the *Dyffryn Crwn* episode as a mini-crusade is supported by the evidence of Welsh interest in crusade narratives seen above (the presence of translated texts containing crusade-type references in the WB and RB), and the evidence for Welsh participation in crusades, surviving in crusade chronicles and in *Brut y Tywysogion*. As the episode also

¹ On Perceval's initial ignorance and education, see Pickens, 'Conte du Graal', pp. 178–79; Walter, *Perceval*, pp. 47–49, 102–04, 116–20.

² Dumville, 'Sub-Roman Britain', pp. 180–81.

contains many elements reminiscent of the Charlemagne Cycle, and *Peredur* is preserved in some of the same manuscripts, the presence of the contemporary Orient in the *Dyffyn Crwn* episode in *Peredur* could be the result of the influence of these texts, rather than being a direct result of the influence of the crusades. In all of the texts examined, the contemporary Orient appears to be inexorably linked to crusades and crusading discourse.

While the references to the Orient in *Peredur* appear to be more inherent to the narrative (or at least parts of it) than in the other tales discussed, there too, the Oriental is seen in terms of immediate relevance. Even when the initial encounter is as distant as the maiden on the mound speaking mysteriously of India, the tale brings the Orient closer, giving it only as much mystery as could be carried by any more immediate geographical area. This explains also why the temptation to compare the Empress of 'Constantinople' with her Indian directions to the Irish 'Sovereignty goddess' has been so great. Her image has nothing of what we have been taught to expect of 'Orientalism'. Similarly, by listing India, Europe, Africa, Corsica, Greece, and various strange unrecognizable places, Glewlwyd not so much subjugates or brings the Orient home as does not recognize any distinction between the Orient and any other part of the world. His claims merely bring together those of Alexander and of Charlemagne, and then add some more. Welsh literature thus is not 'Orientalist', if 'Orientalist' is defined as something characterized by an overpowering and all-engrossing interest in the Orient; and is not Orientalist in the sense of an Orient encountered and subjugated by an expanding Western empire, but it is, however, 'Orientalist' in that the Orient is an ever-present element, just as it was in the medieval literature of the Continent, with its religious focus on Jerusalem, its curiosity about the strange animals of India, its concern with crusades, and its claims to distant conquests.

It is not claimed here that the discussion of the three Orients in native Welsh sources presented here is exhaustive, but it is hoped that the analysis provided offers a new way of examining both this and further material in Wales and abroad. While it is beyond the remits of the present study, it would be beneficial to examine the connection between the various incarnations of *Peredur's* character and the Holy Land in the various European traditions. His connections in Welsh appear to be to the contemporary Orient. He marries an empress who appears to be connected to Constantinople, and if she constitutes a reference to Matilda, her connection to the crusades is even more important, since Matilda was daughter-in-law of Fulk, King of Jerusalem.³ He

³ Petrovskaia, 'Dating *Peredur*', p. 239.

also battles and converts non-Christians in a distant 'round valley'. But it is his later, Continental, incarnation that travels to the Holy Land in the *Queste del Saint Graal*.⁴ It is a question whether this later explicit association with the Holy Land is entirely due to the development of the Grail legend or if it at least partly derives from Peredur's early association with the contemporary Orient?⁵

The implicit comparison made between Alexander, Charlemagne and Arthur in our texts, assigning Arthur a breadth of conquest to rival the two other rulers, invites two questions. One is whether a tradition did develop at any point of Arthur's external and potentially Oriental empire. The second question is if similar comparisons are made in Continental literature? Do Arthurian legends in France mutate to respond to those of Charlemagne or vice versa? Is there evidence elsewhere, unrelated to *Historia regum* or *Leges Eduardi* of a North-Western Empire ascribed to Arthur?

Finally, the story of *Owain's* giant, transformed from a Cyclops/Sciapod to Moor to (in some modern scholarship) a Celtic god, raises the question of the relevance of encyclopaedic knowledge. It may be fruitful to read medieval narrative in the context of encyclopaedic texts, and the influential *Imago mundi* and its vernacular variants in particular. Taking such scholarly learning into account helps distinguish different types of invocation of the Orient. While the giant of *Owain* is no cross-legged Cernunnos, and certainly no Saracen, he may well belong to the world of legend established in historical (pseudo-historical) writings circulating in medieval Europe. The Virgilian context of the Cyclops assigns him to the environment of the Trojan origin legend, and if that is the source of *Owain's* giant, it shifts the text away from its companion romances towards *Historia regum* in terms of thematic influences if not in terms of narrative subject matter or presentation. The transformation of the giant when he crosses the linguistic and cultural border into France with Chrétien's *Chevalier au lion* also warrants further investigation as it represents a reference point shift from historical to contemporary Orient.

⁴ In the *Queste*, Perceval travels with Galaad to Sarras, a city in the Holy Land; ed. by Willenham, 271r–b, p. 201, and index entry at p. 276.

⁵ An argument has also been made for the association of Chrétien's *Conte du Graal* with the crusades; Adolf, 'A Historical Background'.

CONCLUSION

The framework of interpretation based on the *translatio* theory, which conditioned much of medieval historico-geographical thinking, appears to be a suitable alternative to the previously employed theoretical approaches such as that based on Said's 'Orientalism'. Three Orients can be identified in medieval sources: the historical/classical Orient (of the Trojan legend), the biblical Orient (timeless in its religious significance), and the contemporary Orient (an Orient occupied by non-Christians and linked to the crusading endeavour). In terms of the *translatio* theory, the first two Orients are historical, and home to empire and learning, while the third has been left behind by the process of *translatio*. Yet the third Orient is inseparable from the second, the timeless biblical Orient. This interpretation explains the attitude to history and westward movement of the kind observable in *De principis instructione*, for instance, which may otherwise seem confused. The original historical/biblical Orient is significant and more advanced than the barbaric West, which has much to learn from historical Oriental examples, while the contemporary Orient requires intervention in the form of crusading.¹

Historical interest in the Orient as the source of power (point of origin for the *imperium*) is reflected in the appearance of the *translatio* motif and the theme of empire in most of the texts discussed, including the Latin, translated, and 'native' texts. It is worth noting that the *translatio* motif is more pronounced in the texts discussed in Part I, and appears to be a feature of the learned Latinate culture in Wales. It would be interesting to know if the same quality can be observed in the rest of Europe. Learned Latinate culture in Wales was largely imported and closely tied to that of the Continent, through the education of individuals (such as Gerald, educated in Paris) and through the connections of international monastic orders (e.g. the Cistercians). Many of

¹ A similar pattern can be observed in what Tatlock has identified as the 'contemporary' references in the *Historia regum*.

the texts examined, including *Delw y byd*, *Historia regum*, and the Charlemagne Cycle, crossed political and linguistic boundaries in the course of their transmission. Many others, such as the work of Gerald of Wales, the poetry of Elidir Sais, and the 'Romances', show the influence of externally imported discourses. Thus, most themes discussed here are examples of ideas, concepts, notions and modes of discourse crossing cultural, political and linguistic boundaries, demonstrating the striking unity of the medieval European intellectual world.

We began with the marginal image of Britain on medieval *mappae mundi* and in the writings of British and classical authors. Partly in our own geographical perception and partly because of its inhabitants' self-definition as marginal (echoing classical sources, as we have seen) Britain could easily be, and indeed for some purposes was, perceived as lying on the North-Western fringes of Europe (itself hardly central to the *mappa mundi* world). This mode of representation served a discursive purpose. Gerald of Wales, for instance used this notion to illustrate his idea of the tyrannical nature of Angevin kingship. Yet this geographical framework not only forms medieval discourse, but can also have an unexpected impact on modern analysis. Britain could, in its capacity of a distant Western land, be perceived as being hardly in contact with the contemporary Orient. The immediate reaction to finding references of Saracen incursions on Britain in medieval sources is therefore often to suggest that the term Saracen is used for 'Viking'. And indeed, in cases such as Arthur's 'crusading' in *Leges Eduardi*, this may be correct. Yet the evidence of 'Ymarwar Llund bychan', as has been argued above, cannot be explained away as simply a relabelling of Viking raiders. Equally, it has been shown that the 'Otherworld' is hardly the simplest explanation for either the Empress of *Peredur* or the giant of *Owain*. (Although, as has been suggested, the latter, unlike his French counterpart, is not a figure of the contemporary Orient.) Whilst it has so far been possible to argue for a local non-Oriental interpretation of these features in each individual source by placing them within a framework wherein Britain's marginalized position distances it not only from the physical Orient but also from the Orient of the imagination, adapting a different approach by putting these sources side by side shows that the cumulative evidence is in favour of the suggestion that Britain was not marginal discursively, even if it may have been represented so geographically.

This analysis of discourse and (self-)representation, of course, deals with the educated elite and is divorced from the world of the everyman.² It has not fea-

² The problem is well articulated in Vincent, 'Review of Matthew Gabriele, *An Empire of*

tured the silent multitude. Some gaps can be filled in, however, in this case, through paying attention to information provided by Gerald about the preaching of the Third Crusade on the one hand, and analysing the 'native' texts, which are literary productions designed for the enjoyment of the audience on the other. A greater understanding of the everyman's view of themselves, the Orient, and their relative positions in the world, could be gained through further analysis of the audiences of these texts.³

Historical sources attesting to Welsh travel to the Orient show a marked increase in contact and travel towards the end of the twelfth century. With this frame of reference, it becomes clear that the changes in the quantity and quality of references to the Orient in the literary sources, including translated texts, which are particularly marked after the end of the twelfth century, develop in relation to the historical trend of increased contact and engagement. Two types of informational import combined to bring Wales in contact with current European trends of attitudes towards the Orient. The influx of factual information was largely due to Welsh participation in pilgrimage and crusade movements, which also made the Welsh more aware of events in the Orient, and opened Wales up to the influence of current European thought on crusade, attitudes toward other religions, and interpretation of current events in the Holy Land. This impacts on the presence of references to and invocations of the biblical and the contemporary Orients. The connection between these two Orients is emphasized in crusade discourse through the synchronization of historical interpretation, which accounts both for the synchronic geographical/historical visual representation of the world on *mappae mundi* (of which two surviving examples, as least, had been accessible to and indeed accessed by, Welshmen) and for the merging of perceived identities of various peoples involved: Jews, Saracens, Parthians, Turks. The import of geographical and legendary information is likely to have been partly a product of these developments, but it also would partly prompt the presence of the historical Orient in the sources. The circulation and creation of texts carrying the Trojan origin legend is one example. Scholarly works, such as *Imago mundi* and its vernacular incarnations (*Delw y byd* in the Welsh case) are another. Translated texts, carrying all three types of the Orient, furnish a surprisingly fruitful direction of

Memory, p. 497. Our only potential exception is the Welsh archer in the French verse crusade Chronicle discussed in Chapter 2, described specifically as not belonging to the nobility.

³ See, for instance, Sioned Davies's studies on performance aspects of medieval Welsh tales: e.g. Davies, 'He Was the Best Teller of Tales' and 'Written Text'.

enquiry. The Welsh Charlemagne Cycle, for instance, which appears to have been created through the translation of its component texts in the thirteenth century, shows a marked increase in crusading concerns in comparison with what is observable in the original versions of its components.

The contemporary relevance of these translations was shown through the analysis of the changes undergone by the itinerary to the Holy Land, described in the *Pererindod*. It was shown that while the original French version demonstrably echoes the logistics of the earlier crusades, the Welsh shows a marked change reflecting the logistics of the Third Crusade. This can also be taken to be a sign of increased Welsh engagement with events in the Holy Land. It is also clear that this increase was followed by an increase in texts engaging with or containing references to the Orient, historical and biblical as well as contemporary. This increase was not coincidental and a causal relationship exists between the historical and literary events discussed here. In the case of the production of the works of Gerald of Wales this causality needs no argument. In the case of *Peredur* and the Charlemagne Cycle the causality is made likely by the presence of themes of the conquest and conversion of pagans, and, in the latter case, an engagement with the issue of Islam. The two translations of *Delw y byd* are an indication of an increased interest in geography, while the strange giant in *Owain* appears to be a product of awareness of the learned tradition to which *Delw y byd* belongs. In the present context, it is tempting to argue that this interest, too, was spurred by an increased relevance of geography to a people who were coming in increased contact with distant lands. These translated texts show an interest in the Orient that was not purely scholarly, but also didactic. As shown by the colophon of the Charlemagne Cycle, the intention was to influence the minds of the audience. It has been proposed that the agents behind this were the Cistercians, who were also at least partly responsible for preaching the Third Crusade in Wales. The influence of the discourse of the contemporary Orient that preaching carried is evidenced in work produced in Wales in the immediate aftermath of Baldwin's 1188 tour. Elidir Sais shows signs of its influence as much as does Gerald of Wales (the latter partially responsible for its undertaking, as well). The difficulty of dating poetic works makes it difficult to assert with equal confidence that the same influence can be seen in other poetry such as the Black Book of Carmarthen conversation between Taliesin and Ugnach. Influence of the learned geographical tradition and the framework of geographical thinking on poetic works is less ambiguous, as the T-O formula in *Kanu y byt mawr* demonstrates.

Part II, dedicated to the analysis of native material, has shown that the legends of Arthur's conquests in the vernacular as well as the Latinate tradi-

tion appear to have an Oriental element and to be constructed to rival those of Alexander and Charlemagne. It is in terms of the *translatio* theory that this phenomenon can be explained. One has to think only of Gerald's sequences of exemplary rulers in *De principis instructione*, which are given in chronological order, and from Orient to Occident, and include Alexander and Charlemagne. In medieval Welsh literature, imperial conquests of both are described, in the Alexander poems of the Book of Taliesin, and the Charlemagne Cycle respectively, but, crucially, to these is added Arthur. If the list of Arthur's conquests in *Culhwch* pre-dates the coming of the Charlemagne legend to Wales, as it may do, then the sequence of *translatio* from Orient to Occident is maintained as Arthur is compared implicitly to Alexander. He can be compared to Charlemagne by later audiences who would be aware of all three legends, and indeed, the coming of Charlemagne to Wales upsets the sequence as historically he post-dates Arthur. It is perhaps a function of a desire to edit Charlemagne out of the Arthurian *translatio* scheme (which would otherwise have to turn back) that Charlemagne's imperial claims are edited in Insular versions of the narratives. Arthur's figure remains dominant and is not overshadowed. Further, there are hints in the material towards the existence of a tradition in Wales linking Arthur's court to distant travel (*Culhwch, Peredur*). Whilst there is hardly enough evidence to claim the existence of a consistent tradition or legend of Arthur's external universal conquests, hints at it come also from outside the Welsh cultural sphere, in the unambiguously external *Leges Eduardi* and the more ambiguous, because claiming a reliance on British sources, but nevertheless external Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum*. Whether this tradition may have arisen in response to the presence of Alexander or Charlemagne narratives in Britain, or as a by-product of Welsh interest in crusading, is uncertain.

Although the Orient may have entered the medieval Welsh imagination prior to the start of the crusades, the latter movement played a major role. This study was limited to a small chronological section of the development of Welsh literature, due to constraints of time and space. Its goal was to set up and demonstrate the use of the *translatio* theory and the 'three Orients' scheme, based on a sample. Welsh sources provided a convenient case-study, since the amounts of data are manageable within a monograph framework. Even within the sphere of Welsh the analysis is far from complete. There is scope to examine texts translated into Welsh at a later date, as well as delving deeper into the biblical references to the Holy Land throughout Welsh literature and engaging with the wide corpus of hagiographical literature. For example, the question stands whether the *Ystorya gwlat Ieuan Vendigeit* and *Bown* introduce the same kind of changes in the course of translation as have been observed here

for the Charlemagne Cycle, or if the Welsh versions alter any of the geographical details in line with Welsh knowledge of the world. It would also be fruitful, perhaps, to investigate the possible role of the theory of *translatio studii et imperii* in historical references in other texts, and in particular references to the classical world, as well as to engage in greater detail with the representation of the biblical Holy Land in medieval Welsh literary sources.

The broader implications and applications of the theory of the 'three Orient's' could range the breadth of Western European textual production in the medieval period. For instance, an interesting avenue to explore would be the French orient-heavy tales of the Arthurian court, such as *Cligès*.⁴ The contemporary Orient features heavily already in the original versions of the Charlemagne legends, whilst the conflation of contemporary with biblical or historical Orient's on thematic, as well as terminological levels is a feature of crusading discourse: chronicles as well as sermons. On a transtextual level, the conflation of the three Orient's or their juxtaposition in manuscript contexts would be another fruitful direction of enquiry, as hagiographical narratives, *chansons de geste*, chronicles and encyclopaedic texts can frequently be found together in manuscripts. The 'three Orient's' are a useful analytical tool for (or a prism through which the material can be examined) because the framework is not limited to the period examined here. For instance, all three Orient's also come together in that melting pot of medieval tradition, Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*.⁵

Returning to our corpus, it would also be desirable to extend the comparison between translation and original, undertaken here in relation to the Welsh Charlemagne Cycle, to include Middle English, Irish, and Old Norse. Similarly, the impact of the Alexander legend on the development of more local heroes and their traditions of conquest could be a fruitful direction of enquiry. Both that and the Trojan legend had a major impact on medieval European historical writing and the resulting views of the historical Orient would be well worth exploring. The present study has shown to some degree the interconnectedness and the ubiquitous nature of medieval European intellectual networks and discourses. The advantage of the theory developed here is that it is based on, and applicable to, the wider Western European cultural sphere. Texts such as those comprising the Charlemagne Cycle, as well as *Imago mundi* and Arthurian romances were destined, and indeed probably intended, to reach international

⁴ *Cligès*, ed. by Gérard-Zai and others.

⁵ Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, ed. by Dorigatti, trans. by Waldman; for a recent study of the worldview in *Orlando Furioso*, see Cavallo, *The World Beyond Europe*.

and multilingual audiences. Translations were undertaken often on commission of individuals, such as Renaud of Boulogne, and by members of international religious orders. Thus, ideas, theories, and modes of discourse travelled along networks created by individuals, texts, and organizations. Whether self-defined as geographically marginal or not, the intellectual world of medieval Europe was a closely interconnected entity which deserves further exploration as a cultural unit.

Whether ideas of the Orient evolved or were revolutionized within individual works created within this European cultural sphere is a question which can only be answered after the investigation of the whole corpus. Since the theory of the three Orient is based on the medieval concept of *translatio*, which was current throughout Europe, its application to the analysis of other medieval European literatures seems to be the next step. Indeed, work in this direction has already been undertaken, and the course of action here proposed is less a change of direction in the analysis of medieval texts, and more of a proposal for a new set of analytical criteria and an organized terminology, based on medieval concepts and developed on the basis of medieval sources, and thus catering specifically to the needs of medieval studies.

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—, MS Peniarth 5 (White Book of Rhydderch)

—, MS Peniarth 7

—, MS Peniarth 8a

—, MS Peniarth 8b

—, MS Peniarth 9

—, MS Peniarth 10

—, MS Peniarth 14

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